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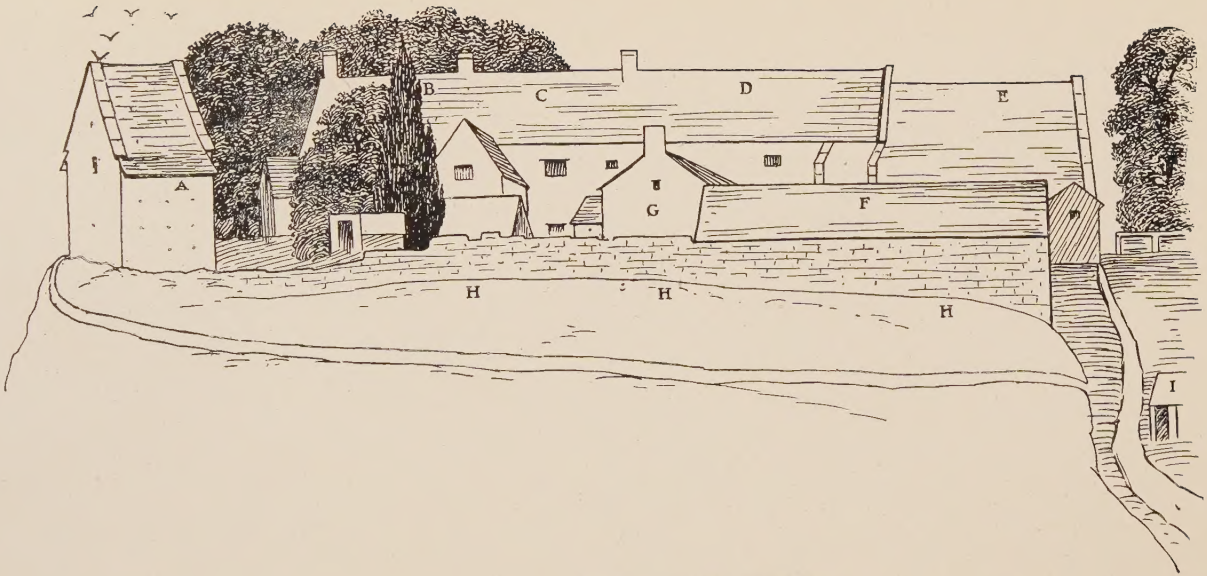

PLAN OF HENRY DE BRAY'S BUILDINGS AT HARLESTONE. (*Pages* 117 *to* 139.)

A—Dove House. B—Modern Additions. C—Old Inner Roof and Walls. D—Old Granary. E—Old Barn. F—Cattle House. G—Old Kitchen. H—Sloping Ground. I—Spring (Modern Well).

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OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By the Ven. Archdeacon W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., LL.D., F.B.A.

Delivered February 17, 1910

2

DURING the year that has elapsed since I was honoured by being elected to this Chair, the Society has sustained some serious losses from the ranks of its membership. Mr. Silvester Davies had been for many years an active member of the Council, and Dr. Charles Gross was an inspiring influence, especially in connection with bibliographical work. At a time when a scheme is being initiated among English and American scholars for compiling a systematic bibliography of English history on a scale never attempted before, it is specially grievous that we should be unable to count on the wide range of accurate learning, and the power of diligent work which he would have been ready to devote to such an undertaking. There is a melancholy satisfaction in knowing that the new edition of 'Sources of Literature' has been left in such a state of forwardness that it is practically certain to be brought out. A fitting memorial will be established at Harvard in the form of a fund for the purchase of works on English medieval history both local and constitutional; and those of us who knew him and valued his

friendship will doubtless be glad to have a share in improving the facilities for the study of those subjects in which he was so keenly interested.

Apart, however, from this sense of personal loss, the year has been one of continued progress; indeed, when I look back over a still longer period to the time when I was elected a member of the Society in 1885, the change has been very remarkable. The financial position of the Society is now exceedingly strong; the Treasurer has the satisfaction of seeing his constant pains rewarded; instead of being in any anxiety about indebtedness, he is able to make payments in advance. The Society has therefore been enabled to enlarge its operations; the annual output is larger in quantity than it was twenty years ago; and, without making any invidious comparisons, I will only say that it shows no signs of deteriorating in quality. Above all, the Society is to be congratulated on having settled in a home which meets its requirements so admirably; apart from considerations of convenience, there is a certain fitness in our having found premises in an Inn which is intimately associated with Francis Bacon, a man who was intensely interested in promoting the study of history, and who had very clear views as to the manner in which that would be best done. We may, I think, be able to see our way more clearly through some of the current controversies in regard to the scope and method of history, if we note the aims with which historical study is being pursued and consider how far they are in accordance with his views. There are different ways in which the pursuit of this branch of knowledge appeals to men of different temperaments; all of our members are doubtless interested in history, but (i) some are attracted because of the manner in which it helps to explain present conditions, (ii) some are satisfied to try to understand and to picture the past, and (iii) some have hopes of finding that it throws light upon the future; and Bacon would not have sympathised with all of these alike.

I

There are innumerable points at which the past has left its mark upon the present. The boundaries of different countries, and their rights in relation to one another, are defined in treaties; and the circumstances under which the treaty was drawn go to account for the precise terms made. Within any country the story of its past explains the relations of various constitutional powers to one another; an immense amount of valuable historical work has been done at different times, with the view of establishing precedents and thus giving a basis for the discussion of constitutional problems in the present day. The study of palaeography and diplomatic, and the whole of the historical criticism which depends upon it, had its beginning in attempts to discriminate among the documents brought into courts of law in support of alleged claims. The desire to obtain precise and accurate information as to how certain matters stand to-day has been the chief motive for the minute investigation of the records which survive from by-gone ages. Accurate historical knowledge is of first rate importance with regard to momentous issues, such as the claims of the French in Newfoundland, and the constitutional powers of the House of Lords. There is little reason to fear that this motive to historical study will cease to operate. Alike for constitutional and legal purposes, men will continue to turn to the past in order to give precision to their knowledge of the conditions of their own day. This has been the most potent influence in bringing about the scholarly study of history, and Bacon, as a legal student who made preparations for compiling a collection of the laws of England, must have realised the importance of accurate work.

II

There is, however, a feeling of a different kind which leads to the study of history, as it may be undertaken from

a mere desire to know, as fully as we can, what the past was like, and to follow the course of events. This was, as we shall see, the predominant feeling in Bacon's mind with regard to history, but he was inclined to confine its range to public life and affairs of State. He regarded the investigation of private affairs and everyday life as rather vulgar, and beneath the dignity of history;[1] but to many of us in the present day such studies open up large fields of general human interest, since we feel that the men of by-gone days were very like ourselves, although there are deep differences. The relics that remain in abbeys and castles show us a people with different ideals and different requirements from our own, and we recognise that there is a great gulf fixed between life in England, as we know it, and the life that once found itself at home in the buildings which have fallen into decay. There is to many people an intense interest in trying to penetrate through the mists of ages, and to get a clear picture of human life and human institutions as they flourished in by-gone times. This was the vein which was worked with such extraordinary success by Sir Walter Scott, whose warm sympathies with all sorts and conditions of men, and curious antiquarian knowledge, enabled him to create a wide-spread love of historical romance. The same attempt must be made whenever we need to restore some feature in the life of the past that has disappeared. After all, legal and constitutional history tells us of a continuity between the past and the present, and of similar rights and claims in each. But when we pass from the framework of Society and the rights of individuals, to inquiry about things that have wholly changed, the arts of life and the methods of business organisation, we have to try to restore what has not been put on record at all, or has been put on record in such terms that we cannot interpret them. Instead of searching in the past for an explanation of the present, we are forced to look around in the present for clues to help us to interpret the

[1] Bacon, 'Henry VII' in *Works*, vi. 159.

past. This is the problem that often presents itself in economic history, and there are two different ways in which the present may help us to understand the past better: on the one hand it may supply illustrations which enable us to figure to ourselves how ancient institutions worked, and on the other it may supply suggestions as to possible explanations of conditions of which we have no sufficient record to render them intelligible.

1. Nearly thirty years ago I had occasion to spend a few months in India, and I took the opportunity of trying to learn whether there were survivals in the changeless East which would throw much light in regard to the condition of our own ancestors in by-gone times. I had constantly before my mind the possibility of tracing some instructive analogies such as those which had fascinated the readers of Sir Henry Maine's 'Village Communities.' It did not appear to me, on closer observation, that the Village Community in the East threw very much light on any institution in England in historic times, but I was considerably impressed by what I heard and saw of the craft organisation of the towns. The places where the Trade Guilds of Ahmedabad held their meetings were far less pretentious than some of the halls of our fifteenth century companies: an open court-yard suffices there for a feast which would require to be held under cover in our climate, but the account of the struggles of the potters to get their rates of pay raised, and of the pressure which other guilds brought to bear upon them, is an instructive parallel to the story which Mr. Unwin has narrated so effectively of the conflicts between the Fishmongers and other London companies in the fourteenth century. Mr. Lely writes:

'The authority of the guild is chiefly exercised in fixing trade-holidays and enforcing their observance; in collecting and applying the common funds; and generally in taking cognisance of any matter which concerns the members as a craft, such as the prohibition or sanction of an improvement, the rate of wages, or the hours of working. The action of these bodies

will be best explained by a few specific examples. During' the early sixties, 'the potters' union or guild at Dhandhuka resolved to make up for the high food prices by raising the price of their wares. This their customers resisted. The merchants and bankers, or *sáhukárs'* guild, comprising all the most influential persons of the place, took up the quarrel on behalf of the general community. They forbad anyone buying earthenware. They sanctioned the use of metal basins in marriage ceremonies. They sent men in disguise to distant villages to buy earthen pots at the expense of the corporate funds and to bring them in for those who had none of metal. Still the potters held out. After some months the yearly auction sale of the right to dig clay in the village lands came on. An agent of the *sáhukárs'* guild was sent to outbid the potters at any cost, and so deprive them of their raw material. This last move forced the potters to yield, and the price of earthenware to this day is unchanged. Against the barbers and the carpenters, who about the same time also raised their rates, similar tactics were adopted, but with less success. Agents sent to bring barbers from other places failed, and a flood destroying many houses, forced the people to agree to the carpenters' demands. . . . On the whole,' it is said, 'these unions have been hurtful to the general interests. The clever and the stupid, the hard worker and the idler have been kept at the same level by an indolent and bigoted communism which does not scruple to enforce its decrees by the most formidable religious sanctions ; all efforts at improvement have been suppressed and the accumulation of individual wealth impeded.' [1]

The whole story reads like a reminiscence of the 'unreasonable' ordinances of the craft guilds in English towns in the fifteenth century.

We find less of apt illustration but something of instructive suggestion, if we turn our attention still further East to the guilds of China, which claim to have a history going back for more than a thousand years before Christ. The analogies between the Chinese and the English craft guilds

[1] F. S. P. Lely on Trade Guilds, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, iv. Ahmedabad, 1879, pp. 109–111. See also *Ibid.* viii. Baroda, p. 160.

have been recently pointed out by Mr. H. B. Morse;[1] but closely as these institutions correspond in some respects, there are yet deep-seated differences, as the English guilds were always in intimate relations with some public authority, either municipal or national, and seem to have had their action authoritatively controlled, and to have been used at times as administrative agents for the collection of taxes. The guilds in China have no such close relations with public authority, but exercise a wide-spread influence under merely social sanctions; and in this way they are analogous with craft guilds or *collegia* as we come across them, not in the medieval, but in the ancient world. The collegia in Rome had much the same character as that of the guilds of China, until the time of Alexander Severus, when they were brought into relation with public authority, and began to take the character which they continued to have throughout the Middle Ages. A vivid illustration in the present, of a condition of labour organisation which lasted for centuries in the past but has long since disappeared in Europe, may be suggestive and instructive.

2. The help thus obtained on the regressive method may be of importance, not merely where authorities are silent, but where we have masses of evidence which it is not easy to interpret. Dr. Knowles has called my attention to the manner in which the reconstruction of agricultural and industrial life, which is now going on in Russia, is parallel to the changes which were occurring in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and I may refer to one point, which has been much discussed in this Society in recent years, in some detail. The break up of communal agriculture has been examined with care by Sir D. M. Wallace, who has investigated the condition of the Russian serfs since emancipation. He writes:

> Some have greatly prospered while others have become impoverished. . . . In the old times the general economic stagnation and the uncontrolled authority of the proprietor

[1] H. B. Morse, *The Guilds of China*. 1909.

tended to keep all the households of a village on the same level. . . . The communal equality . . . has now disappeared; the restrictions on individual freedom have been removed, the struggle for life has become intensified, and as always happens in such circumstances, the strong men go up in the world while the weak ones go to the wall. All over the country we find on the one hand the beginning of a village aristocracy, or perhaps we should call it a plutocracy, for it is based on money, and on the other hand an ever increasing pauperism. Some peasants possess capital with which they buy land outside of the commune, or embark in trade, while others have to sell their live stock, and have sometimes to cede to neighbours their share of the communal property. This change in rural life is so often referred to that a new word—differentiation—has been invented.[1]

With this passsage in my mind I have read through much of the old evidence in Bacon,[2] Fitzherbert and Harrison about sixteenth century inclosing, and I find that it bears an entirely fresh aspect. Side by side with the increase of sheep-farming,[3] and the formation of parks,[4] an agricultural revolution was going on, and the less energetic men could not keep pace with it. The old methods of common tillage had in all probability exhausted the land;[5] in many cases the subdivision of holdings had proceeded very far in the old days,[6] before the Black Death swept away such a large proportion of the population. The more energetic men succeeded in getting larger tenancies on better terms when stock and land leases were introduced; but in so far as the old collective husbandry survived, it would tend to the maintenance of small unremunerative holdings, on which it was hardly possible to subsist. The agricultural revolution of the sixteenth century becomes most intelligible if

[1] *Russia*, new ed. (1905) ii. 200.

[2] Bacon, 'Henry VII' in *Works*, vi. 94.

[3] More, *Utopia*, 41.

[4] It would appear that this kind of depopulation was no longer important in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. Harrison, 'Description,' in *Holinshed* (1807) 346. Norden's *Surveyor's Dialogue* (1618), p. 118.

[5] Denton, *Fifteenth Century*, 153.

[6] Kowalewsky, *Die oekonomische Entwickelung Europas*, iii. 70.

we think of it as pushed on by enterprising tenants,[1] who in some cases took up sheep-farming pure and simple, but who would in any case find it advantageous, even as regards arable farming, to withdraw from the common fields and to work their land in severalty. Fitzherbert, writing from his forty years' experience, shows that the man with a separate holding had far better chances of thriving alike as regards ploughing with oxen,[2] folding his sheep on fallow,[3] breeding and rearing lambs[4], rearing calves[5] and using his pasture to advantage[6]; the rivalry of the rich and the poor is constantly in his mind, and the assigning land in severalty was the only way he saw of giving fair play to each. Under these circumstances, it was only to be expected that the prosperous man would take every opportunity of increasing his holding—a practice of which we constantly hear[7]—not as a sheep run, but for ordinary farming; and that those who

[1] Norden dwells on this, *Surveyor's Dialogue*, p. 99, but there is much evidence in sermons and other literature.

'They also which are oppressed and kept under, and bare, and needy of mighty and rich men, as God knoweth every township throughout England almost is oppressed; and some have deserved no less and some again he wraxed with undeserved misery. The rich and wealthy waste and eat up the commons of every town, so that no poor man can keep a cow upon them. They use unhonest trades in their husbandry, buying and selling corn and cattle to forestal markets; and to make an appearance of scarcity in the markets, they will overbuy things, and give more for them than they be worth, to raise the price.' *Hutchinson's Works* (Parker Soc.), 301. T. Lever, *A Sermon made in the Shroudes in Poules* (Arber's Reprint, pp. 29, 37); Crowley's *Epigrams* (E.E.T.S.) *of Forstallers*, p. 34; *of Leasemongars*, p. 40; *of Rent Raisers*, p. 47; Harrison in *Holinshed* (1807), 275, 318.

[2] *Husbandry*, p. 7.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 34, 36.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 51.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 71.

[7] 'Neither letting two or three tenantries unto one man.' Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises* (Parker Soc.), 201. Compare also the *Petition to Henry VIII*, 1514. 'The inconveniences thereof hath not only be begun and risen by diverse gentlmen of the same your realms, but also by diverse and many Merchants adventurers, Clothmakers, Goldsmiths, Butchers, Tanners, and other Artificers, and unreasonable covetous persons which doth encroach daily many fermes more than they can be able to occupy or maintain with tilth for corn as hath been used in times past, forasmuch as diverse of them hath obtained and encroached into their hands, x. xii.

could work the land better would offer large fines or increased rents to get another holding to add to their own. This would lead to a relative depopulation, as the impoverished men would lose their holdings and would not in all cases be required as labourers. The rise of rents, of which so much complaint was made in the sixteenth century,[1] would occur in connexion with agriculture, and not merely through the competition of those who desired to form sheep runs. Depopulation and rent-enhancing seem to have been to some extent incidental to the introduction of convertible husbandry as a matter of fact, and these evils were not always characteristic of sheep-farming, as we are apt to gather from contemporary complaint.

Contemporaries doubtless fixed on the most prominent fact, and treated the whole of the rural distress as due to the passion for sheep runs, and Mr. Gay has advocated this view;[2] but whatever the importance of sheep-farming may have been in any particular decade, it seems to me that Mr. Leadam[3] and Mr. Corbett[4] have shown that the course of agricultural improvement was going on side by side with sheep-farming; and we may also feel that the course of agricultural improvement involved social changes—depopulation and rent raising—similar in kind, but less drastic than those which were brought about by the formation of sheep runs. When this is realised the whole history of

xiv. or xvi. farms in one man's hands at once.' Quoted in *Ballads from MS.*, by Furnivall, p. 101.

'A new way they do invent, Lettying a dozen farms under one.
Which one or two rich franklings, Occupying a dozen men's livings,
Take all in their own hands alone.' W. Roy, *Rede me and be nott wrothe* (Arber's 'English Reprints,' p. 600, also 139).

Private Prayers in Liturgies of Edward VI (Parker Soc.), 458.

[1] Brinklow, *Complaint of R. Mors*, E.E.T.S., p. 9.

[2] 'Inquisitions into Depopulation in 1517,' in *R. Hist. Soc. Trans.* N.S. xiv. (1900).

[3] *Ibid.* p. 279.

[4] 'Elizabethan Village Surveys' in *R. Hist. Soc. Trans.* N.S. xi. 80 (1897).

The grievances in Norfolk as formulated under Kett seem to have arisen through the withdrawing land from common rights, rather than from the conversion of arable land into pasture. F. W. Russell, *Kett's Rebellion*, 48; 'Life and Reign of Edward VI' in Kennett, *Complete History*, ii. 292, 293, 296.

inclosure becomes intelligible ; the formation of sheep runs probably ceased with the opening of the seventeenth century—but it had not been the sole cause of the social mischief. The advocates of agricultural improvement hoped that it could be carried out without injury to the small farmer, but these hopes were not realised.[1] The progress of agricultural improvement continued through the seventeenth century ; though it was more generally recognised to be a national advantage, the local grievances to which it gave rise continued to appear. In the eighteenth century, at all events, the initiative seems to have been often taken by improving landlords who set themselves to attract enterprising tenants.

3. When so much help can be obtained by the use of analogies drawn from present day life in other lands, we may have still more confidence in the use of this regressive method when primitive conditions have survived in our own country. Much has been done in this connexion by the studies in common fields which were initiated in the great work of Mr. Seebohm ; but I do not think sufficient attention has been directed to the vestiges of collective management in connection with cattle-breeding and dairy-farming. This must have been a very important element in village economy ; but while much has been written on sheep-farming and on common fields, the management of the herd of milch kine has been almost overlooked. In the Cambridgeshire village of Cottenham we have materials, to which my attention has been called by Mr. Arthur Bull, for remedying this defect. The most striking feature of life in this village was the great herd of 2000 kine which marched up from the fen each evening at sundown along the village street, and turned without direction into their respective byres, when they came to them. From 1596 onwards till 1842 the control of the management of this herd was in the hands of order-makers, who not only made orders in regard to the many

[1] J. Hayward, 'Life and Reign of Edward VI' in Kennett's *Complete History*, ii. 289, also Fitzherbert, *Surveyinge*. xl.

points that arose when some 2000 cattle were fed together over four or five thousand acres of common pasture, but had to make bye-laws for 'the feeding, ditching, fishing and other convenient use of all the fens.' The matter was further complicated by the custom under which each common right had portions of hay set out to it in at least two different parts of the fen. The records of the order-makers exist for two hundred and fifty years, and give an unexampled history of collective dairy farming as carried on by traditional methods.[1] The story of the agreement by which this system came into vogue has an interest of its own: in 1596, the commoners allowed the manorial lords of Cottenham to enclose some of the land in severalty, and in return the lords abandoned any claim to interfere in the management of the herd[1] and the fens, either by making by-laws or collecting fines. The order-makers were a body of seven elected possessors of common right, who regulated the number of cattle to be put on the common by each holder of common right, the appointment of field reeves and fen officers, and many such matters, which had hitherto been administered by manorial officers. The collective management of village economy by order-makers at Cottenham is an interesting illustration of the extent to which democratic organisation had gone in this country, before the Township was transplanted, to undergo new developments on the American continent. For my immediate purpose it may suffice to note what an opportunity these records offer for reading our way back into a more complete understanding of English village economy in the Middle Ages.

4. Turning now to political history, and the aspects of national life on which Bacon concentrated attention, we recognise that this also may be pursued simply for the sake of understanding the past as clearly as possible, but in this case the regressive method is no longer so useful; if indeed

[1] The publication of the text of this agreement and of some of the orders in a forthcoming volume of the *Camden Miscellany* is under consideration by the Council of the Society.

we ought to avail ourselves of it at all. Reliance on present day illustration and suggestion, of which we do well to make use in regard to economic life, becomes less important and may indeed be positively mischievous. The lines of cleavage between political parties in the past were very different from the divisions drawn in the present day: and nothing but confusion can result from the introduction of modern terms, such as Liberal and Conservative, to designate the conflicting elements in ancient democracies or even in the seventeenth century. In order to avoid anachronism in political history, we must as far as possible get rid of the misleading effects of present day association, and it seems to me to have been one reason for the great importance of Francis Bacon in the field of history that he realised this so clearly. He was keenly interested in political history, and he desired to treat it so that it should be a living picture of the past; he thought that the study of the past could make men wise to deal with the difficulties of the present, just as experience of men and things in one capacity will fit a man to deal with men and things in some other sphere, but he did not look to the past in order to draw from it instruction on any particular point. His aim was to create what we should call objective history,[1] where the past was made to tell its own story as clearly as possible, but without any conscious reference to the exigencies of the time at which the story was composed.

Bacon stands alone among historians, so far as I know, in that, sixteen years before he began to write, he formulated a philosophy, and marked out the place which history should take in the circle of human knowledge and the manner in which it should be treated. His encyclopaedic work was left unfinished, but he had completed a draft of the portion on the 'Advancement of Learning.' In this section history is dealt with as correlative with the mental faculty of

[1] On the question how far it is possible for any individual to realise this aim, compare my article on 'Impartiality in History' in the *Rivista di Scienza* (Bologna, 1907), I. i.

memory; its function is that of reproducing the past. In spite of the strong practical vein in his enthusiasm for learning, he has no sympathy for didactic history, or 'ruminative' history in which there is a running commentary on the story of the past. 'It is the true office of history,' he says, 'to represent the events themselves, with the counsels, and to leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to every man's judgment.'[1] According to his view the important thing is to describe what men did and why they did it; so far as any bearing on the present is concerned it should be left to tell its own tale. He regarded it as a grave defect in English literature that there was so little record of the history of the country; as early as 1605 [2] he had pointed out how desirable it was that there should be a complete record of English affairs under the House of Tudor. To his mind there was a remarkable unity about the period from the union of the Houses of York and Lancaster to the union of the Crowns. He regarded this as a

> portion of time wherein . . . there hath been the rarest varieties that in like number of successions of any hereditary monarchy hath been known. For it beginneth with the mixed adoption of a crown, by arms and title; an entry by battle, an establishment by marriage; and therefore times answerable like water after a tempest, full of working and swelling though without extremity of storm, but well passed through by the wisdom of the pilot being one of the most sufficient kings of all the number. Then followeth the reign of a king whose actions, howsoever conducted, had much inter-mixture with the affairs of Europe, balancing and inclining them variably: in whose time also began that great alteration in the state ecclesiastical, an action which seldom cometh upon the stage; then the reign of a minor, then the offer of an usurpation though it was but as a febris diurna, then the reign of a queen matched with a foreigner, then of a queen that lived solitary and unmarried, and yet her government so masculine as it had greater impression and operation upon the States abroad than it any

[1] 'Adv. Learning,' in *Works*, iii. 339.
[2] *Life and Letters*, iii. 249.

ways received from them; and now last, this most happy and glorious event that this island of Britain, divided from all the world, should be at unity in itself.[1]

He insisted that these reigns were well worth study, though he recognised that they were not so brilliant and exciting as some other periods of history might be.

> For they are not the great wars and conquests (which many times are the works of fortune and fall out in barbarous times) the rehearsal whereof maketh the most profitable and instructing history; but rather times refined in policy and industries, new and rare variety of accidents and alterations, equal and just encounters of state and state in forces and of prince and prince in sufficiency, that bring upon the stage the best parts for observation.

He showed that the events of the period he had chosen were well worth putting on record, including as they did the change in religion, the discovery of the New World, and the increase of English influence in Europe.

It has been a common complaint against Bacon that while he wrote so much on the advancement of learning, he did so little to advance any one branch of it himself. So far as history is concerned this is emphatically untrue. In the last years of his life he began to execute the task which he had suggested some fifteen years before, and in four or five months wrote the 'History of King Henry the Seventh.' This was to be followed by the 'History of King Henry the Eighth,' but of this he only succeeded in writing a very few paragraphs. He carefully followed the manner of treatment he had prescribed, and he congratulated himself that it was possible for a private person to publish a history which did not show any taste at all of flattery;[2] his history is in a way epoch-making, as he deliberately discards existing models. He was not content to write a mere chronicle; and the main features of his work can be most easily stated, by quoting the judgment of two well-known critics. One is hostile.

[1] 'Adv. Learning,' *Works*, iii. 336.

[2] Preface to 'Henry VII' *Works*, vi. 20.

'The defects of Bacon's nature conspired with the faults of his conception of history to taint his work with lukewarm censure of falsehood and extortion, with a cool display of the expedients of cunning, and with too systematic a representation of the policy of a monarch in whose history he chose to convey a theory of king-craft, and the likeness of its ideal model.'[1]

Now, apart from the last clause, this sentence in which Sir James Mackintosh condemns Bacon's defects seems to exhibit his merits as an historian; the tale he tells of 'the events themselves with the counsels' during this reign is not less valuable as history because it contains no expressions of feelings, and there is no attempt to make it a vehicle for 'inspiring the reader with pity for the sufferer, with anger against the oppressor, and with earnest desires for the triumph of right over might.' What Sir James Mackintosh regarded as essential to make history 'useful,' was from Bacon's point of view no part of the business of the historian. But Sir James Mackintosh is mistaken in suggesting that Bacon's work is in any sense a panegyric, or the exhibition of an ideal model; it may be impossible for any man to lay aside his personalty completely and write a history that shall be really objective, but the prominence which Bacon gave to the figure of the king is no proof that he was untrue to his own ideal of what history should be. The figure of Henry VII stands prominently forward, but Bacon has no reticence in pointing out the mistakes he made, and brings into great prominence the avariciousness which had grown upon the king; the strong points of this king's character, and the success which attended him, are emphasised, but the manner in which the anxieties and disorders of the reign were aggravated, if they were not brought into existence, by blunders on the part of the king and defects in his character are also insisted upon. Recent research on 'England under the Tudors' has tended to modify opinion on many points in Henry's reign, but it is still possible to

[1] Sir James Mackintosh, *History of England*, ii. 362, in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopedia.

sympathise with the encomium[1] which Spedding pronounces on Bacon's achievement.

> To educe a living likeness of the man, and the time, to detect the true relations of events, and to present them to the reader in their proper succession and proportions was the task which he now undertook. In this . . . he succeeded so well that he has left later historians little to do. Subsequent researches have but confirmed and illustrated the substantial truth of his history in all its main features. The portrait of Henry as drawn by him is the original of all the portraits which have been drawn since. The theory of the events of Henry's reign as formed and expounded by him has been adopted by every succeeding historian as the basis of his narrative. . . . The composition bears some traces of the haste with which it was written; but if that be the best history which conveys to a reader the clearest conception of the state and progress of affairs during the period of which it treats, not one of the histories of Henry VII that have been written since can bear a comparison with this. The facts he was obliged, for the reasons above stated, to take and leave almost as he found them, but the effect of his treatment of them was like that of bringing a light into a dark room; the objects are there as they were before, but now you can distinguish them.[2]

At all events one may say that Bacon had a perfectly clear idea as to the purpose and function of history; he was not able to secure that co-operation which was necessary for the complete history he desiderated, but he personally succeeded in giving us an extraordinarily vivid picture of the reign of Henry VII. The capacity for the vivid presentation of the facts of the past, which Bacon shows in his contribution to the story of the period from the union of the Houses of York and Lancaster to the union of the Crowns, challenges comparison with the manner in which the history of the struggle of the two Houses has been presented in the series of Shakespeare's plays which deal with the period from Richard II to the death of Richard III. In both the

[1] Compare also Kennett, 'Preface' to *Complete History of England*.
[2] Bacon, *Works*, vi. 4.

materials furnished by chroniclers are worked up into vivid historical pictures, ' with the counsels.' [1]

III

There is, I believe, a certain portion of the public who are attracted to the study of history because they think that if rightly pursued it affords direct guidance in regard to the immediate future. Human experience of the world around us, as collected by means of observation and experiment, enables us to forecast a vast number of effects that will follow certain events ; and there is some excuse for hoping that if our accumulated experience of human affairs were properly investigated, we should be able to make instructive forecasts as to the trend of events. The attempt to treat history as a basis of political science was steadily pursued by Sir John Seeley—a man on whose behalf it may be contended that he, as a student, took a part in Empire building—and who was an extraordinarily inspiring teacher, especially to the men of capacity who came under his influence. And yet in retrospect it does not seem that his method was a success : political science, in the persons of his pupils, gave very uncertain guidance in regard to the question of Home Rule, when Mr. Gladstone raised the issue ; there is a serious danger of abandoning the objective attitude when we approach the history of the past as a storehouse of argument in favour of or against some particular course of pressing interest. In Bacon's view historical studies may help us to cultivate a faculty of political wisdom, rather than to accumulate a store of maxims which may be applied on any occasion.

[1] A comparison of Spedding on Bacon and A. W. v. Schlegel (*Dramatic Art and Literature*, 419) on Shakespeare shows that the parallel is so close as to invite careful consideration. Are we to think that Bacon in 1605 philosophised on the mode of historical treatment which had been originated by Shakespeare, and afterwards employed it as his own, but in a literary and not in a dramatic form ? Or is it possible that Bacon had an opportunity during the last decade of the sixteenth century of inspiring Shakespeare with his own views as to the treatment of history ? This is, of course, a question that can only be settled by literary critics.

The attempt to formulate laws of human development from a study of the past has, however, been taken up on a still larger scale, and under the influence of the philosophy of Comte. He was much interested in history, and his chief ambition was to reduce it to such a scientific shape that there might be a possibility of prevision. When we recollect that Bacon was also the founder of a great system of empirical philosophy, we might naturally expect that he would have sympathised with this view, but this was not the case. Experimental science was in its infancy in Bacon's time, and there is a great gulf between his standpoint and that of Comte. Bacon's method for the reconstruction of knowledge applies logically both to external and to subjective causes, but he recognises a great difference between the interpretation of nature and the investigation of political history; in the latter the causes for which he looks are human aims and passions,[1] and he does not attempt to trace these back to environment of any kind. He was concerned in the classification of knowledge and the improvement of method so as to obtain 'objective' knowledge of the causes and reasons of change, not only the events, but the counsels. The economic and social matters in which regular influences can be most easily traced, lay outside the field of historical research as he conceived it. Besides, he did not busy himself about bringing human affairs into close line with the order of nature; in his day such efforts were somewhat discredited by the low estate into which astrology had fallen. This Baconian self-restraint is not to be lightly discarded. Generalisation is dangerous if it is ever allowed to interfere with the drudgery of minute study, and is not used strictly as directing to the topics which ought to be most carefully scrutinised. We may, I think, find in Bacon, correctives against the danger of indulging in airy generalities in regard to what history teaches; and though he confined the scope of the subject within what seem to some of us narrow limits

[1] *Novum Organum*, i. 127.

he set an example of sober and dispassionate study and of thoroughness in scholarly activity of every kind. There is abundant reason why this Society should be grateful to those who have allowed us to find shelter in the Inn which was his home.

THE FINANCE OF LORD TREASURER GODOLPHIN

By I. S. LEADAM, M.A., F.S.A.

Read January 20, 1910

GODOLPHIN had taken over the Treasury with an adverse balance, arising in the main out of the continental campaigns of William III., which the economies practised since the peace had, at the time of the King's death, failed to discharge. At the accession of the Queen, the funded debt stood at 10,000,000*l.*[1] In addition to this, there were 2,338,628*l.* outstanding Exchequer Bills, borrowed at 7 and 8 per cent., and other arrears, amounting in all to about 12,750,000*l.*[2] Taking the total revenue from taxation, direct and indirect, at 4,654,000*l.*, which is the average of the last three years of William III.,[3] the outstanding indebtedness represented a capital sum approaching three times the annual taxation of the country. In 1697 a general mortgage was made of certain revenues and taxes amounting to nearly a million pounds a year, to be continued till 1706 as a fund for the discharge of about 5,100,000*l.* In the first session of the reign this mortgage was extended to 1710,

[1] Very varied statements are to be found on this subject, the *Encycl. Britannica* stating the debt at the accession of Anne at 16,394,702*l.* On the other hand, Dowell (*Hist. of Taxation*, ii. 453) states it, both funded and unfunded, at 12,750,000*l.* I have therefore relied upon two elaborate contemporary extracts of the revenue and expenditure of the reigns of William III. and Anne, probably the documents prepared for the Committee of Inquiry of the House of Commons in 1711, since they conclude with Michaelmas 1710. Of these there are several copies in various collections of MSS. in the British Museum. These documents purport to be reduced from the Treasury books. The particular copies used by me are Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35902, and 35903 (*Hardwicke Papers*).

[2] Dowell, l.s.c. The civil list was 130,000*l.* in debt. Treasury Papers (Anne), vol. lxxix. no. 70, April 30, 1702.

[3] Add. MSS. 35902.

to supply a deficiency of over 3¼ millions. Godolphin further allocated some additional taxes to constitute security for the floating Exchequer Bills (1 Anne, st. 1, c. 13).

To meet the increased expenditure during the first year of the war, he issued annuities upon a loan of about 87,500*l.* charged upon the Excise (1 Anne, st. 2, c. 5). The rest he endeavoured to provide by taxation. To the disgust of the country gentry, he raised the land tax from two to four shillings in the pound (1 Anne, st. 2, c. 1). He levied new duties on malt, mum (a kind of German beer), cider, and perry (1 Anne, st. 2, c. 3). He also increased the duties on wines and other merchandise at the ports by what was technically known as a one-third subsidy, or fourpence in the pound *ad valorem*, to which was added in 1704 (3 Anne, c. 5) a two-thirds subsidy, the whole amounting to a shilling in the pound. The revenue derived from the land tax in 1703 stood at less than two-thirds of the revenue raised from indirect taxation, but the addition to the indirect taxes reduced its proportion in 1704 to little more than a third. This change marked the successful revolt of the Tory country gentry against Godolphin's proposal to raise the land tax higher. A temporary pressure in 1703 was tided over by the issue of 1,800,000*l.* of Exchequer Bills at the low rate of 5 per cent., a rate indicating the improved credit of the Government, which had set in with a rise of stocks on the Queen's accession. But while the economies practised during the peaceful period of 1698–1701, of which the large disbandment of forces imposed upon William III. by Parliament was a conspicuous example, had reduced the national expenditure to less than three millions in the year 1700–1, it rose rapidly with the war. Between Michaelmas (at which quarter the accounts were cast), 1702 and Michaelmas 1703 it exceeded 9,500,000*l.*; up to Michaelmas 1704 it was over 9,840,000*l.*; by Michaelmas 1705 it exceeded 10,274,000*l.* Additional duties were laid in 1704 upon tea, coffee, and the produce of China and the East Indies. On these duties a loan was effected of 700,000*l.*

at 6 per cent. (3 & 4 Anne, c. 4). Annuities for years and for lives were also issued in the same year to the amount of 878,000*l.* secured upon the Excise (3 & 4 Anne, c. 2). In 1705, 2,575,000*l.* were raised upon the security of tonnage and poundage on wines, coals, and other goods and merchandises (4 Anne, c. 6). But as these taxes were partly pledged and the continuance of their elasticity was doubtful, an additional 280,000*l.* was borrowed by the same method to reinforce the security ; in other words, part of the interest was to be paid out of the capital subscribed. Two fresh issues of annuities to the total amount of 2,000,000*l.*, with similar provisions, followed in 1706 (5 Anne, cc. 19, 27), while 1,500,000*l.* were raised by Exchequer Bills, secured upon the house duty (5 Anne, c. 13). In addition, 500,000*l.* were found by the investing public, upon the Duke of Marlborough's recommendation, for a loan to the Emperor for eight years at 8 per cent., secured upon his estates in Silesia. Burnet rhapsodises over the abundance of money and the fact that at this stage of the war the Government could command it at 6½ per cent. He adds what the State Papers and Ministerial correspondence shew to have been but a pious belief, that 'the Treasury was as exact and as regular in all payments as any private banker could be.'

The war expenditure for 1707 shewed no sign of slackening, and to it was now added the Scotch Equivalent of 400,000*l.* The Government was again obliged to cast about for additional resources. Fresh annuities to the amount of 640,000*l.* were created upon the surplus of the Excise left after the discharge of its prior liabilities (6 Anne, c. 5). In the same session a further sum of 1,280,000*l.* was similarly raised on duties of which, as before, 260,000*l.* was applicable to pay interest on the annuities created (6 Anne, c. 11). Certain duties on wines, vinegar and tobacco were assigned as security on which to raise a further sum of 730,000*l.* (6 Anne, c. 19). An exceptional opportunity for raising a new loan arose upon the amalgamation in the same year, through the mediation of Godolphin, of the Old or London

East India Company with the New or English East India Company, the creation of Montague in 1699. As the price of the renewal of the united Companies' charter to March 25, 1726, the Companies advanced 1,200,000*l.* (6 Anne, c. 17).

The more Godolphin placed reliance on the Whigs, the larger and more successful were his financial operations. The loans raised in 1707 were taken up by Whig capitalists, Whig officials, and Whig landowners before the lists were opened to the public. In 1708 a further 645,000*l.* were borrowed at 6 per cent. upon the security of the duties on wines, vinegar and tobacco (7 Anne, c. 8). For the year 1709 a supply of 7,000,000*l.* was voted, but the estimated yield from the taxes fell short by 2,000,000*l.* The Whigs and the financial magnates who were their allies saw a way to establish their position more securely by increasing the dependence of the Government on the Bank of England. Under William III. the Bank had begun its existence with an advance to the Treasury of 1,200,000*l.* (5 W. & M. c. 20), and in 1706 had rendered it further assistance by undertaking to circulate 1,500,000*l.* of Exchequer Bills (5 Anne, c. 13). These Bills the Bank in 1708 offered to pay off and cancel, together with the interest due, the total amounting to 1,775,000*l.*, upon the assignment of an annuity out of the house duty amounting to 6 per cent. until the redemption of the principal. It further undertook to advance 400,000*l.* to the Government without interest until August 1, 1711, and, after that date, to accept interest upon the original debt of 1,200,000*l.* due from the Government and upon the 400,000*l.* at the rate of 6 instead of 8 per cent. per annum. It also agreed to circulate future Exchequer Bills to the amount of 2,500,000*l.* at 6 per cent., secured upon certain assigned duties. For these valuable services the Bank obtained permission to double its capital of 2,201,171*l.* by issuing fresh stock at a premium of 15 per cent., which, with a call on the proprietors of 15 per cent., amounting to 656,000*l.*, increased its capital to over 5,000,000*l.* It also obtained a monopoly by being constituted the only joint-

stock bank in England and by retaining a veto on the further issue of Exchequer Bills. Lastly, its privileges were prolonged until a year's notice after August 1, 1732. Certain duties and subsidies previously pledged for limited periods were continued in perpetuity as security for the debt to the Bank (7 Anne, c. 7).

Brilliant success attended the Bank's operations. Its subscription lists, opened at 9 A.M. on February 22, 1708–9, were closed at 1 P.M., the whole amount being forthcoming, and its stock thereupon rose 15 to 17 per cent. The Tories objected that by the new arrangement the Bank was incorporated with the State. Their pamphleteers declaimed against it as an insidious and corrupt monopoly which raised the rate of interest, obstructed trade, bribed politicians, and injured the landowners by lowering the value of their land. These propositions were no less energetically contested than affirmed. The Whig success was the more distasteful by contrast with the failure of Harley's Land Bank in 1696 and of a Tory bubble, called the 'Company of Mine Adventurers,' at that very time in an insolvent condition, of which the projector, Sir Humphry Mackworth, a leading High Churchman, was in 1710 expelled from the House of Commons for his frauds. The Whig operation attained a national importance in view of the failure of the French Government about the same date to erect a Royal Bank for the circulation of its Mint Bills.

Recourse was had in 1709, by Michaelmas of which year the expenditure approached 13,000,000*l.*, to a lottery as a means of raising 1,500,000*l.*, notwithstanding that an Act of 1699 (10 & 11 W. III., c. 17) had declared all lotteries 'common and public nuisances.' The method adopted was to give a lottery chance to every subscriber of 10*l.*, by which the contributors to the loan were offered the anticipation of drawing a prize in addition to their annuity, which prize took the form of a bonus annuity (8 Anne, c. 4). The recurrence to this discredited method of raising money was due rather to the public sense of the precariousness of Godolphin's

tenure of office and to the backwardness of the Treasury in discharging its obligations than to the exhaustion of the moneyed classes. The lottery was not filled. A sum of 1,300,000*l.* was in the same session borrowed upon the old Excise and Customs duties (8 Anne, c. 13). The Government also proposed a loan of 900,000*l.* to be raised upon new Excise and Customs duties, chiefly derived from beer, vinegar and spices. There was, however, a significant proviso that in the event of a failure to raise the whole sum by the purchase of annuities before May 1, 1710, the residue might be offered by way of lottery (8 Anne, c. 7).

The annual expenditure ending Michaelmas 1710 exceeded 13,500,000*l.*, and though 7,700,000*l.* had been borrowed, a deficit of over 500,000*l.* on the year remained. Edward Harley, the Auditor of the Exchequer, has described in a few graphic words the embarrassments to which his brother succeeded on his entrance into office in August 1710. 'When he came into the Treasury he found the Exchequer almost empty, nothing left for the subsistence of the Army but some tallies upon the third general mortgage of the Customs; the Queen's civil list near 700,000*l.* in debt; the funds all exhausted and a debt of 9,500,000*l.* without provision of Parliament, which had brought all the credit of the Government to a vast discount. In this condition the nation had in pay 255,689 men. . . . Beside these difficulties, the Bank, stock jobbers and moneyed men of the City were all engaged to sink the credit of the Government, which they did so effectually that Navy Bills and others were sold at 40 and 45 per cent. discount.'[1] The explanation of the depreciation of these securities and the magnitude of the Navy Debt, which exceeded 5,000,000*l.*, was that they were unfunded, that is, no specific revenue was allocated to their service, and that while the foreign contractor exacted cash payments, English creditors could be kept waiting. Such supplies as were voted without appropriating clauses were therefore applied to payments abroad, while the

[1] Portl. MSS. v. 650.

Navy, which was built and equipped at home, was largely maintained upon credit.

The Tories, having bestirred themselves to maintain the credit of Harley's Government, succeeded in 1711 in filling a lottery to raise 1,500,000*l.*, of which the annuities were secured upon export duties on coals and an import duty upon candles (9 Anne, c. 6). Halifax, who was anxious to establish himself with the Treasurer, then suggested a lottery in a more complicated form, called a 'class lottery,' the annuities to be based upon licences for hackney coaches and chairs, new duties on stamped vellum, parchment, paper, cards and dice, and on rock salt exported to Ireland, the allocation of 700*l.* weekly out of the revenue of the Post Office, and duties on hides and skins (9 Anne, c. 16). This lottery also proved attractive to the public, and 2,000,000*l.* were raised by it. But it was evident that lotteries could not be permanently relied on to raise revenue, nor did they check the depreciation of unfunded Government debts. During Harley's illness, consequent upon Guiscard's attempt, his brother, the Auditor, was engaged in formulating a scheme which the Treasurer had devised for dealing with the outstanding debts. It is uncertain with whom the project of the South Sea Company originated. De Foe's correspondence and his 'frequent and long audiences' [1] with Harley while the scheme was maturing suggest that it may have sprung from his fertile brain. The Bank of England had come into existence as an incorporated public creditor quartered upon the Exchequer. The New or English East India Company represented the assertion of the principle that Parliament alone could grant a monopoly of trade. Upon these two precedents Harley founded his scheme for the incorporation of the South Sea Company. Its area of operations was to comprise the east side of South America and the west of the whole American Continent. Of this, as was anticipated, gigantic trade the new company was to enjoy a monopoly. Its stock was to consist of about nine and a half millions of

[1] Portl. MSS. iv. 659.

public debt. On this it was to receive from the Treasury 6 per cent. and an allowance of 8000*l.* a year for the expense of management. There were allocated to it as securities, 'funds' as they were called, the duties on wines, vinegar, tobacco, East India goods, wrought silk, whale fins and on sundry other commodities, which had been appropriated for limited periods to other purposes, but were now extended in perpetuity. The scheme was duly puffed by subservient journalists. Boyer, the Huguenot annalist of the reign, predicted that it would yearly bring vast riches from Peru and Mexico into Great Britain. It was announced in Ministerial papers that it had been 'received with general approbation.' Nevertheless, two months later, South Sea stock had dwindled to $77\frac{1}{2}$. The cause was not altogether the exhaustion caused by the war. The prospects were too remote to be tempting. Further, capital was mainly in the hands of the Whigs, and, as John Toland wrote in December 1711, 'the moneyed people will never trust this Parliament.'[1] 'The sinking of credit in the City and the unaccountable fall of the (Government) stocks' were the burden of Lord Halifax's sympathetic lamentations to the Lord Treasurer.[2]

Under such conditions it is intelligible that the correspondence of Ministers largely consisted of begging letters. From the date of Harley's accession to office (August 10, 1710), the Treasury papers swarm with them. Lord Raby, our Minister to Prussia, who on March 7, $17\frac{10}{11}$, succeeded Townshend at The Hague, was clamouring eleven months later for his 'equipage money,' and for pay due to him at Berlin.[3] Davenant, our Minister at Frankfort, was stated to be 'without money or any possibility of credit, which has been exhausted by his having received nothing from the Treasury for above two years.'[4] James Craggs the

[1] December 7, 1711. Portl. MSS. v. 126.

[2] August 30, 1711. *Ibid.* 79.

[3] [Earl Poulett to Robert Harley] April 18, 1711. Portl. MSS. iv. 674.

[4] B. Zollicoffre to [the Earl of Oxford], July 19, 1711. *Ibid.* 16.

younger, our envoy to Spain,[1] was in a like plight. The Earl of Orrery, appointed in March 17^{10}_{11} as an Envoy Extraordinary to the States-General, wrote to the Treasurer in the following February that he had not the means to go into Flanders, his pay as a major-general and his salary as an envoy being both in arrears.[2] The Earl of Dumbarton's military pay was 1150*l.* in arrears in November 1711, and he had 'no other subsistence.'[3] When our foreign Ministers were paid, it was in tin,[4] with which the market was glutted at intervals.[5] The Army in Spain was, in May 1711, four months in arrears of pay,[6] and the Duke of Argyll, who, in January, 17^{10}_{11}, had been dispatched as its commander-in-chief, reported it as in consequence 'in great misery.'[7] Godolphin himself never received his pension, though his private income, at the moment of leaving office, did not exceed 1000*l.* a year. In June 1711, it is melancholy to read, he was displaced from the Rangership of St. James's Park, a sinecure of the same value, in favour of Mrs. Masham's daughter of two years old! Yet the same newsletter which announces this waste of public money mentions that 'some of the arrears' due to the Guards, the Navy, and the Officers of the Household are begun to be paid.[8] It was necessary, in support of Harley's policy of warlike

[1] James Craggs to the Lord High Treasurer, June 20, 1711. *Ibid.* 16.

[2] Feb. 26, 17^{11}_{12}. Portl. MSS. v. 145.

[3] Nov. 7, 1711. The Earl of Dumbarton to [the Earl of Oxford], *ibid.* 106.

[4] 'I have wrote to Mr. Deeker in case you should be scarce of money in the Treasury, to take the value of the bill in tin, out of which the foreign Ministers have been paid for some years.' [John Drummond] to [Robert] Harley, $\frac{28\text{ Oct.}}{7\text{ Nov.}}$, 1710. Amsterdam, *ibid.* lv. 617.

[5] 'It is full five years' consumption here.' Same to same. $\frac{29\text{ Nov.}}{9\text{ Dec.}}$, 1710. Amsterdam, *ibid.* 634.

[6] Morrison MSS. Hist. MSS. Commission, 9th Rept. Append. p. 471.

[7] $\frac{21\text{ June}}{1\text{ July}}$, 1711. Barcelona. Duke of Argyll to [the Earl of Oxford]. Portl. MSS. v. 17.

[8] *Ibid.* 15. June 19, 1711.

profession, that the forces in the Low Countries should be kept in a state of efficiency. Immediately upon taking office he had, through the assistance of a group of financiers headed by John Lambert, a French refugee, got together 400,000*l.*, of which 300,000*l.* were remitted to Marlborough. Lambert's reward was a baronetcy and an expression of approbation from the Queen, while Harley plumed himself upon an acknowledgment from Marlborough that the Army was never better paid. [1] But the Duke of Würtemberg was complaining in 1711 that his troops were yet unpaid for 1709.[2] The Duke of Atholl, the Queen's Commissioner to the Church of Scotland, had in 1714 received no salary for ten years.[3]

If officials highly placed, whose services were so necessary to the country, were placed in such straits, the wretchedness of sufferers in less influential stations may readily be surmised. There were regiments without pay, pensioners without pensions, annuitants without annuities, Government servants without bread. Colonel Andrew Windsor complained to the Treasury in 1711 that the tallies ordered by the Lords of the Treasury for the use of his regiment were on the last year's malt, postponed to a charge of 570,000*l.* No one would deal with them, being so remote and the fund uncertain. More astonishing still, some of the officers had been arrested for debts of the soldiers for want of their pay. The Lords of the Treasury appear to have thought it sufficient remedy for the present distress to explain that the tallies were not issued for the subsistence of the soldiers, but were advanced on the account of such regiments as were debtors to Colonel Windsor for men and arms delivered in Spain.[4] This correspondence and much other of the same

[1] Portl. MSS. v. 651. Edward Harley's *Memoirs*.

[2] $\frac{31 \text{ Jan.}}{10 \text{ Feb.}}$, $17\frac{10}{11}$. The Hague. Charles Rudolph, Duke of Würtemberg, to the Duke of Marlborough. *Ibid.* iv. 656.

[3] Portl. MSS. v. 437.

[4] Treasury Papers (Anne), R.O. cxxxiii. 27. April 18, 1711. G. Granville to —— Lowndes.

nature explains the prevalence of the purchase system. The promotion of officers whose private means were ample enough to tide their regiments over a period of deficit afforded a temporary respite to a harassed Treasury. The diplomatic service and the Army were not alone in receiving payment in tallies. On May 9, 1712, the officers of Her Majesty's Works represented to the Lords of the Treasury the hardship put upon them by the discharge of their salaries in tin tallies. Even that payment appears to have been nothing more than a book entry, for they go on to say that if their tallies were delivered into their hands, they would be at a discount of 32 per cent. They pray that they may have interest at 6 per cent., presumably till their tallies are cashed. They receive for satisfaction the somewhat enigmatic answer that when they are at a more reasonable discount, their Lordships will consider the complainants' memorial.[1] The heralds and pursuivants at arms claim salaries nine quarters in arrear, and are to be paid 'as far as the serjeants-at-arms are paid.'[2] A clerk in the Treasury had, in March 1712, 'been near three years without one farthing of salary.'[3] In 1712 the annuitants contributory to the loan of 645,000*l.* in 1708, being four quarters in arrear, put their case into the hands of Lord Halifax, who remarks that they are likely always to be a year in arrear.[4] Sir Solomon de Medina, an Army contractor of whom more was afterwards heard, protests to Lord Oxford on May 9, 1712, that he can go no further with the payment of the bills drawn and redrawn for carrying on Her Majesty's Service, and accepted by Moses de Medina, whose credit, though one of the best on 'Change, lay at stake as well as his. They had both of them sold and pawned all they had in the world. Unless they had 20,000*l.* at least, their ruin and that of their families must immediately follow, and the credit of the nation would certainly suffer, everybody knowing that the Government was indebted to him about 60,000*l.*[5]

[1] Treasury Papers (Anne), R.O. cxlvii. 37.
[2] Do., clxviii. 15.
[3] Portl. MSS. v. 151.
[4] Treasury Papers, cxliv. 7. Feb. 7, 1711–2.
[5] Do., cxlvii. 38.

De Foe's letters, while in employment as Harley's confidential agent in Scotland, are one long wail of pecuniary straits and of letters unanswered.[1] The Queen's tradesmen were paid 'one-third part in tin tallies, without interest, the rest in ready money.'[2] Far worse was the 'very miserable condition' of the workmen employed in the Admiralty dockyards at Chatham, Sheerness, Portsmouth, and Plymouth. Their wages were a year and three-quarters in arrear, of which the Commissioners of the Navy, in June 1712, were soliciting from the Treasury a half-year's instalment.[3] It is no matter for wonder that commanding officers were ordered by statute to read to their recruits the article of war forbidding combinations to obtain overdue pay upon pain of death. The cynical indifference of the men in place and power, whose salaries were regularly paid, and might, perchance, like the Queen's privy purse, be supplemented from the secret service money,[4] marks the times rather than the individuals, such incidents as those narrated being too familiar to produce any serious impression. 'I cannot but think,' wrote Swift of Harley and St. John in January 1711, 'they have mighty difficulties upon them. Yet I always find them as easy and disengaged as schoolboys on a holiday.'

[1] On September 11, 1707, he complained to Harley that he had received no remittances for five months. 'Hitherto his Lordship's (Godolphin's) goodness to me seems like messages from an army to a town besieged, that relief is coming, which heartens and encourages the famished garrison but does not feed them.' Portl. MSS. iv. 444.

[2] *Ibid.* v. 401. News Letter, March 18, 1713–14.

[3] Treasury Papers (Anne), cxlix. 16. June 30, 1712.

[4] The receipts of the secret service money from 1701 to 1710 show that the Queen received and signed with her own hand for 1000*l.* in 1707, a thousand guineas in 1708, and again in 1709, and 3000*l.* in the first part of 1710, the last receipt being dated June 8. Treasury Records Secret Service Bdle. 266. The accounts of the secret service money for the rest of the reign have not been found. Neither St. John's nor Harley's name appears in the volume examined. See also Viscount Bolingbroke to the Lord Treasurer, Jan. 6, 1713–14. Portl. MSS. v. 379.

THE SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE'S FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

By HUBERT HALL, F.S.A., *Director*

Read January 20, 1910

THE administration of Sir Robert Walpole has been treated from more than one point of view by the historical writers of a later age. The judgment passed by his contemporaries upon the statesman who was to themselves merely a protagonist of party warfare has long since been modified in several important particulars. But even after the lapse of more than two centuries since Walpole's birth, historians to whom history will always be 'past politics' are content to derive their estimates of his long administration from the blatant chronicles of the Whigs and Tories, or from perfunctory Blue-books, in preference to the original sources of information that are still available.

At the same time these unscientific studies have had one useful result. The distaste excited by a discussion of the sordid methods of party government during the first half of the eighteenth century has induced a critical treatment of the conventional authorities, and we have probably arrived at a very fair estimate of Walpole's personal and political character and of his capacity as a party leader, that is to say, as a typical English statesman.

It is, however, noticeable that Walpole's biographers and the historians of his administration alike have been irresistibly attracted by his financial policy, which can also to a certain extent be appreciated without recourse to the original authorities. Possibly the conclusions at which

these writers have arrived on such abstruse subjects as Walpole's manipulation of the National Debt and Sinking Fund, or his famous Excise scheme, or his infamous Secret Service may be just and sound; but in any case we have to take some facts for granted.

The prominence that has been given to this side of Walpole's ministerial career is certainly justified by the attention paid to it by his contemporaries. To them he was before all things a man of affairs. By some he was denounced as a public robber, or at the best an ignorant manipulator of the public funds, whilst by others he was hailed as 'the best master of figures of any man of his time.' But neither the rancour nor the exuberance of political partizanship will help us to find what we have set out to seek. They may serve indeed to remind us that a Chancellor of the Exchequer who makes a raid on vested interests, or a clearance of financial superstitions, on the plea of public necessity or in the name of reform, is, in all ages, easily the best-hated man of his time, outside his own political following. Indeed, it may be said that the gin-sodden Covent Garden porters, the armed smugglers of every sea-coast village, the ale-house keepers and dealers who throve at their expense, and the unpatriotic politicians who inflamed the mob with insincere pamphlets and scurrilous lampoons, brought their hatred of Walpole to the degree of a fine art. The characteristic wit of the political opposition and its base allies does, however, provide us with a reminder of Walpole's inherited talent for affairs. 'Lynn Bob,' the 'Norfolk Robin,' alias 'Robin Hood,' alias the 'Norfolk Gamester,' alias the 'Norfolk Punch,' the 'Norfolk Sting,' the 'Quaker' or the 'Jew' of Norfolk, could show the same credentials for the transaction of business as had been approved by the contemporaries of the Pastons, Bacons, Cokes, and Townshends, who had helped to maintain the reputation of the most prosperous English county. That the Norfolk squire failed to render a good account of his own estate after thirty years of public life

is a reproach that was incurred by both the Pitts; but the significance of Walpole's local origin and traditions cannot be ignored.[1] Another personal reflection on the score of nepotism may serve to call our attention to a further feature of the minister's official environment. The position of the head of the Treasury in the eighteenth century differed widely in one respect from that of a Victorian statesman. The Treasury itself was only, so to speak, the fly-wheel of that gigantic medieval machine, the Exchequer, and the service of a Walpole family at the Exchequer under the first Hanoverian King was possibly a remote survival of the enlightened nepotism which is so intimately associated with the organisation of royal finance under the first Angevin.

We have not perhaps sufficiently realised the importance, especially to an eighteenth century finance minister, of able or at least devoted subordinates, both at the Treasury and at the Exchequer, where, owing to the survival of ancient patent offices, various ornamental satellites revolved around the great luminary. But if we know little about the establishment and practice of the Treasury in the time of Walpole, we know still less about the 'course' of the Exchequer itself in the last phase but one of its existence, when we find it still hedged round with vested interests. Both these institutions must be taken into account in estimating the fiscal conditions by which even the strongest *primarius* or *Cancellarius* was bound in the days when Exchequer clerks still wrote his titles in abbreviated Latin and still audited his accounts in Roman numerals. The Black-book of the Exchequer, which records the Exchequer precedents since the thirteenth and even the twelfth century, and which describes at length the initiation of Lord Treasurer Godolpin into the mysteries of the ancient Court, has preserved many references to the family of his great successor. In fact it was not so much a question of service under Walpole at the Exchequer as 'under which

[1] His reputed ancestor, Ralph de Walpole, archdeacon and bishop of Ely, had ably opposed the clerical taxation of Edward I.

Walpole?'[1] Again it should be remembered that since the reign of Henry VIII a new procedure had been introduced in the collection of the revenue, with the result that the Land Revenue and the assessed taxes were now excluded from the ordinary process of the Exchequer. This usurpation, in turn, led to the aggrandisement of a particular branch of the Exchequer, which was soon to become an independent department feared and distrusted by officials and tax-payers alike, the Audit Office; and here again a Walpole smiles upon us in the security of a sinecure. Finally it is instructive to find that the best contemporary account of the state of the Customs and Excise Revenue in the first half of the eighteenth century is printed as an Appendix to the well-known treatise on the Exchequer which has been attributed to an Exchequer baron in the period immediately preceding the excise scheme. In this 'Account' we have a graphic description[2] of the evils resulting from the mismanagement of the Customs revenue, and in the Exchequer treatise itself we have an equally graphic description[3] of the forms and ceremonies observed in keeping and auditing the accounts of the Receiver-General of this department at the Exchequer, and yet the Customs had always enjoyed a larger measure of departmental independence than any other branch of the revenue.

On the other hand, it may be admitted that for the purpose of preparing the financial statements in Parliament and in respect of a general supervision of the revenue the Treasury was already the working department, and even that for several other purposes the Exchequer and the

[1] Thus, counting fiscal preferments alone, we find the following appointments recorded: Robert, Lord Walpole, Clerk of the Pells and Auditor of the Receipt; Horatio Walpole, the elder, Secretary to the Treasury, Cofferer of the Household, and Surveyor and Auditor-General of Plantation Revenues; Horatio, the younger, Usher of the Exchequer, Comptroller of the Pipe, Clerk of the Foreign Estreats, and Inspector-General of Exports and Imports; Edward, Secretary to the Treasury, Clerk of the Pells, and Teller of the Exchequer; Geoffrey, Paymaster-General and Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital.

[2] Gilbert, *Exchequer*, pp. 261–3.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 247–8.

Treasury were identical. This admission, however, does not dispense with the desirability of comprehending the contemporary organisation of the revenue departments, including the Customs and Excise, as a preparation for the special study of Walpole's financial policy.

The historical interest attached to the statement of that policy has already been referred to, whilst its broad outlines and even its minutest details have frequently been discussed by later writers. Its vicissitudes have furnished more than one political moral, and successive historians will probably continue to enrich the literature of the subject. It is not the purpose of the present paper to offer even the smallest contribution in this direction. The wealth of printed material which has been mentioned as a matter of congratulation will not be here the subject of investigation. None the less it furnishes of itself an interesting object-lesson in connexion with the study of historical method. The contemporary authorities, who are in fact the political antagonists of the day, vouch certain facts in speeches, or pamphlets, or letters, and also cite certain official sources which were partially printed for their information. The Parliamentary history in turn abridges these 'authorities.' Both sources and some family papers were utilised by Coxe. Sober and perspicuous modern historians like Dr. Cunningham and Mr. Lecky use all these sources and draw the true conclusions from their evidence. Finally, two years ago, it occurred to an industrious American scholar to make a special study of the subject, and more recently still, the authors of the brilliant volume of the 'Political History of England,' and an admirable chapter of the 'Cambridge Modern History,' review the whole question in a judicial spirit.

At the same time we cannot feel assured that we are in possession of a complete text of the sources referred to by political disputants during Walpole's ministry. These sources comprise official statements and Parliamentary Reports on the distinct subjects of the National Debt and the

Revenue at large, with special reference, under either head, to the vexed questions connected with the South Sea Stock, the Sinking Fund, the Customs, Excise and Land Tax, and the Civil List, including Secret Service disbursements.

Now it is important to remember that the various statements and Reports referred to here are not above suspicion. Neither the assertions of an eighteenth-century ministry nor the contradictions of an eighteenth-century Parliamentary Opposition were wholly without guile. As for the Reports of Parliamentary Committees, we have only to recall the efforts that were made to tamper with the selection of those judicial bodies whose garbled and exaggerated verdicts remain on record as a warning to the historical investigator. Again, the whole subject of the National Debt has been adequately dealt with, for the first time, in a recent Blue-book, which supersedes the sources used by earlier writers, together with some of the arguments based thereon.

The above reflections are not the only ones that we might be led to make from a perusal of the published sources. We should easily discover that these very sources can be usefully supplemented and possibly emended from the individual records of the Exchequer, Audit Office, Customs and Excise, whence the above-mentioned political statements and reports were actually derived, and we should probably seek in vain for any printed analysis of the contents of those collections.[1] It must not be forgotten, however, that there is at least a possibility that some of the original sources that existed in 1733 or in 1742 are no longer available. The losses of Exchequer records, even since 1834, are notorious, and the Records of the Treasury and Audit Office have fared little better since that date.[2] The same remark applies to the Excise, whilst the choicest of the Customs

[1] With the exception of the Parliamentary Paper on the early history of the National Debt above referred to, and the official Calendar of Treasury Records, which, however, only deals with a portion of these Records.

[2] Maitland, *Memoranda de Parliamento* (Rolls), p. xiii, and Hall, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents*, pp. 25–29 and 40–52.

Records are believed to have perished in the Great Fire of 1814. Still, enough is left both of the original materials for the incomplete Reports of the Commissions of Enquiry,[1] and of the Exchequer and other Departmental Records,[2] to enable a conscientious student of the subject to satisfy himself whether the facts are as they have been stated.

Although it would naturally seem very desirable that we should possess complete statistics relating to every branch and to every aspect of the revenue during a fiscal era of such exceptional importance, there are at least certain figures that would seem to be indispensable to an adequate estimate of Walpole's finance. These relate to the following financial subjects :—

1. The state of the National Debt from year to year, including the position of the several stocks and of the Sinking Fund between 1715 and 1742.

2. An analysis of the annual revenue and expenditure (*a*) as voted, (*b*) as raised and spent, classifying the several sources of income and items of expenditure for the same period.

3. Returns of the revenue from Customs, Excise, and Aids and Taxes for the period 1723–1733.

4. An analysis of the disbursements for the Civil List, 1702–1742, distinguishing the payments for Secret and Special Service.

5. Statistics regarding cost of administration, value of forfeitures, and losses by frauds in the Customs and Excise revenues, 1717–1734.

6. The value of colonial exports and of commodities exported or imported free of duty, for the same period.

Taking these in the above order, we should find that in each case the present state of our knowledge is scarcely satisfactory. It is true that the statistics relating to the

[1] These are amongst the 'Miscellaneous Revenue Accounts' and 'Miscellaneous Various' of the Treasury Records.

[2] Namely, the Records of the Receipt Side of the Exchequer, together with the Records of the Treasury Audit Office and Board of Customs.

National Debt and Sinking Fund have been summarised, as we have seen, with great skill in a recent Parliamentary Paper from a contemporary Treasury compilation ; [1] but the task was one that involved independent calculations, and a description of the materials available for this purpose has not hitherto been published. From this admirable return the vicissitudes of the National Debt since the year 1693 are revealed to us for the first time with reasonable probability, though the interesting history of the floating debt of the Crown from the accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration, represented in Walpole's time by the arrears of the Civil List and the royal debts incurred on the word of a king, is still a closed book. As for the funded debt during Walpole's ministry, we can ascertain from a glance at Mr. King's convenient tables, that the total stood in 1715, when Walpole first took charge of the national finances, at the sum of twenty-nine millions, and that this total was raised, through the Jacobite rebellion, the northern war scare, and the South Sea Bubble, to over fifty millions at the beginning of Walpole's second term of office in 1721. This total, however, was never exceeded during the remainder of his ministry. In fact, a slow but steady decrease of liability is indicated, until the sum of forty-three millions is reached in 1742. From this time forward, under the stress of incessant foreign war, the National Debt increased by leaps and bounds. The wars with the Bourbon Powers and colonial expansion had raised the total to 128 millions in 1763, and even this total had been nearly doubled in 1786, when provision for the liquidation of the debt began to be taken seriously. These figures will perhaps suggest that scanty justice is sometimes done to Walpole's statesmanship by asserting that he might have reduced the debt by twenty millions instead of by seven millions. Apart, however, from the political necessity of a strong army and navy and a lavish Civil List to a Protestant dynasty threatened by insidious foes, and apart also from the plausible contention that

[1] The 'Public Income and Expenditure Books.'

Walpole was anxious to encourage the enterprises of the 'Funded Interest,' the fact remains that during no other period of twenty years from its first recognition in 1693 to the year 1864 has the National Debt shown a continuous decrease, far less a decrease to the extent of a seventh of the whole amount.[1]

Materials for an estimate of the total value of the national revenue may also be found among the Treasury Records, and the details could be verified from other sources. Assuming that the figures given in the 'Public Income and Expenditure Books' are authentic, it is instructive to note the gradual diminution of taxation during Walpole's ministry. The revenue raised for the public service and to provide for the interest on the National Debt and the Sinking Fund declines during this period from nearly nine millions between 1710 and 1721 to less than seven millions in 1725. Between 1725 and 1741 the amount levied only twice exceeded eight millions, being usually a little more than seven millions.

The same Treasury Records will enable us to ascertain the respective values of the chief items of the national Budget during the whole period of Walpole's administration. For this purpose we could easily prepare a table showing on the one side the amounts of revenue received under the several heads of 'Remains' (including cash in hand and Exchequer tallies outstanding) from the revenue of the preceding year, the proceeds of the Customs, Excise, Post Office, Casual Revenue, Aids and Taxes and Special Contributions (by trading corporations) in sufficient detail. On the other side would be shown the expenditure incurred for the public service, under the heads of the Navy, Ordnance, and Army (with the addition after 1740 of the Marines); for the Civil List; for salaries of governors, paymasters, and other financial agents; and, finally, for the yearly

[1] With regard to the Sinking Fund itself, although its organisation is well known, whilst its fluctuations are probably stated correctly in the printed tables, it may be of interest to notice that a contemporary and apparently unused record of its operations still exists in the shape of certain 'Surplus Books' amongst the Treasury Records.

liabilities in respect of annuities, lotteries, Government stock, and interest, the balance of revenue unexpended being carried forward to the next financial year.

Both the totals and the details of the above heads, of public income and expenditure, are deeply interesting when viewed during a period of nearly thirty years; but fuller details are, in some cases, desirable, and these must be obtained from the other sources that have been referred to. Again, it is instructive to compare the figures of the actual Budget with the Parliamentary Votes for the public service which are included in the same series of Treasury Records.

In the case of the revenue derived from the three chief sources of supply, the Customs, Excise, and Aids and Taxes, some further examination is very advisable, since the figures published in the Parliamentary Report of 1733 are admittedly inadequate to the importance of the occasion. Here again the Exchequer comes to our aid with the original accounts, as audited,[1] and these will also enable us to verify the cost of administration, which was equally a political consideration.

The amount of the Civil List of George I and George II and the revenue from which it was derived are matters of common knowledge; but considerable misconception prevails with regard to several items of the Civil List expenditure, particularly in respect of Secret Service. The undue increase of this fund forms the gravamen of the indictment of Walpole's ministry in 1742, and the mystification of successive historians on this point is very noticeable.[2] The question at issue, however, can easily be decided by reference to the Treasury Accounts.[3] From these we learn that

[1] The declared Accounts of the Audit Office and Pipe Office, with their supplementary enrolments. The Accounts of Aids and Taxes are contained in a separate series of Accounts of Receivers-General amongst the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Records.

[2] This is summarised in the assumption of the Committee of Enquiry in 1742 that Walpole had expended one and a half millions in Secret Service.

[3] Treasury Accounts, Revenue, Miscellaneous, 'Civil List,' and 'Secret Service' and the 'Public Income and Expenditure Books' above referred to.

the Secret Service fund administered ' without account ' by the Secretary to the Treasury was increased from 16,000*l.* before the rebellion of 1715 to 50,000*l.* in 1720, and to 77,000*l.* in 1741. We also find that these figures show a rapid decline to 64,000*l.* at the end of 1742 and to 30,000*l.* in 1744, the above totals being exclusive of the fixed allowance of 3000*l.* to each of the two Secretaries of State.

However, the real object of the enquiry was obviously to obtain information as to the particulars of the expenditure, though this was defeated by the adroitness of the Treasury secretaries, who have at the same time baffled the more innocent curiosity of later historians by carrying off their books. Fortunately these have recently been recovered for the period between 1710 and 1725 amongst the Lowndes MSS., now distributed between the Record Office and the British Museum, and possibly the papers of Secretary Scrope will some day be forthcoming. In any case, the effect of these ' dreadful revelations ' upon the mind of an impartial historian would not be to the disparagement of the sagacity of a Minister who has erred herein with Walsingham and Pitt.

The subject of the special statistics compiled during the crisis of Walpole's Excise scheme for the purpose of proving the wasteful and inefficient administration of the Customs revenue has already been referred to, and it has been suggested that even if we were able to recover all the original returns prepared for the use of the Parliamentary Committee in 1733,[1] these would require to be carefully verified from the departmental and Exchequer records, since the most casual investigation reveals the existence of considerable discrepancies in several particulars. At the same time, it is perhaps to be regretted that these elaborate returns were not printed as an appendix to the report of

[1] There is a significant admission in the Report of the Committee itself (p. 611) to the effect that shortness of time had made a careful examination of the figures submitted by the departments concerned impossible.

the Committee in 1733, or by subsequent historians of the revenue; for, in spite of the inconsistencies above referred to, these statistics are both conveniently arranged and highly instructive. In fact, no further vindication of Walpole's proposal with regard to the tobacco duty is required than the mere recital of the amazing figures that were furnished by the Customs department on the subject of the prevailing frauds upon the revenue.[1] In addition to this justification, however, Walpole's policy is further elucidated by the evidence presented in the same returns for the purpose of indicating the wastage that took place in the collection of the Customs duties,[2] and the still greater loss in realising the value of forfeited commodities.[3] It is to be remembered, however, that these statistical returns should be checked by means of the actual records of the several departments concerned.

Finally we have to consider the materials available for an estimate of the value of the colonial trade, together with the extent of the reshipments, and the other indications of Walpole's 'free trade' policy. But here at least the colonial sources have been thoroughly explored, though not in connexion with the present subject, in recent years by several American scholars,[4] with results perhaps less favourable to Walpole's prescience than have been assumed by certain writers.

[1] The Treasury returns show that at one Hampshire port alone in a single year (1723–4) 187,116 pounds of tobacco were landed without paying duty. The officials moreover admitted that the total quantity of tobacco smuggled without detection was beyond calculation.

[2] The gross produce of the Customs for the year 1733–4 was stated to be 2,739,334*l.* 2*s.* 9¾*d.*, and the nett revenue was 1,303,770*l.* 11*s.* 11¼*d.*, the difference being due to deductions for debentures, for bounties on certain commodities, for salaries and incidents, and for allowances to shippers.

[3] The estimated value of all seizures at the ports from 1717 to 1732 was 898,182*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*, and the proceeds amounted to 448,260*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.*

[4] Particularly by Dr. G. L. Beer. Prof. C. Hull is engaged in important researches on the same subject. An excellent theory of Walpole's policy is given in Cunningham, *Industry*, vol. ii. pt. i.

In conclusion, it may be insisted that in respect of every one of the above subjects of investigation the actual sources of information have been somewhat rashly neglected, both by contemporary and modern writers.[1] Without asserting that the result of such a detailed examination of these original sources would materially affect our general estimate of Walpole's financial methods, it is possible that it would at least furnish us with more authentic and even with more striking illustrations of his supreme wisdom.

[1] This paper was written before the author had seen an account of Prof. Wolfgang Michael's important researches in English Archives and family muniments in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (1909). Further researches have quite recently been undertaken by Mr. E. Turner of the Johns Hopkins University.

THE TWO SIR JOHN FASTOLFS

By the late L. W. VERNON HARCOURT, M.A.

Read March 17, 1910

It is now several years ago that Mr. James Gairdner wrote an essay on 'The Historical Element in Shakespeare's Falstaff.' Since then many have ventured to gather where he has strawed; only last year, for example, the public were presented with 'The Case of Sir John Fastolf,' by Mr. Duthie. I mention this instance because Mr. Gairdner himself reviewed the book, and therefore if he had by any chance changed his opinions, there was an opportunity for stating the fact, of which he would doubtless have availed himself. We may consequently assume that the views of the two recognised authorities on Falstaff remain unchanged. The other authority is of course the late Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, who penned a monograph on this subject.[1]

As defined by authority, inimitable Falstaff, 'much as he undoubtedly owed to the rich imagination and incomparable wit of the dramatist, was an embodiment of traditions respecting two distinct historical personages'—to wit, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, the Lollard; and Sir John Falstaff, victor of 'The Herrings' and victim of Patay —'traditions largely tinted with prejudice, but . . . preserving . . . some little details of genuine historic fact, which if they had not been stereotyped by genius would by this time have perished irrevocably.'[2]

We need not present the proofs of this authoritative

[1] *The Character of Sir John Falstaff.*

[2] Gairdner, *Studies in English History*, p. 77.

conclusion; it would be mere waste of time to dish up the old evidences, and 'make cauld kail het again.' Suffice it to recall those little details which genius has stereotyped. Oldcastle was a Lollard, by tradition he was portly; and though Falstaff is the name of Shakespeare's character in print, Oldcastle he was in manuscript, and Oldcastle was the name of his stage prototype. So much for the fat knight's connection with the first historical personage.

Fastolf of Caister by Yarmouth was also perhaps a Lollard; he is said, on non-contemporary evidence, to have passed his boyhood in the household of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; Sir John really owned a Boar's Head Tavern, not in Eastcheap but at Southwark; and though a brave man, he was more than once accused of cowardice. This is Falstaff's connection with the second historical personage.

Now, with these facts before him, the author of 'The Case of Sir John Fastolf' rejected the Oldcastle element and propounded the view that Falstaff was none other than Fastolf, and a very lifelike portrait too; Shakespeare, he opined, was in possession of manuscript evidence not now forthcoming. It is only necessary to choose a light subject to ensure weighty consideration for your views; and the 'Athenaeum,' after chiding the author in question for venturing to break a lance with such formidable opponents as Messrs. Gairdner and Phillipps, wrote:—'We have been impressed by the evidence which Mr. Duthie has adduced. . . . His local knowledge has enabled him to discern the possible identity of Shakespeare's old knight of the Castle with the lord of Caister, as well as other circumstances of time and place which demand full consideration.' It would have been far truer criticism to describe the writer as an indiscreet champion of the weakest part of the authoritative case; for the more the Fastolf element is insisted upon, the evidence being what it is, the more hopelessly illogical and untenable does the authoritative case become.

Oldcastle without a doubt was the original *dramatis persona* of Shakespeare's 'Henry IV.' Sir John Fastolf of

Caister in that reign is an anachronism—he only came into historical existence in 1415. It was suggested that, owing perhaps to Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs,' or to offence being taken by 'personages descended from his title,' Oldcastle's name had to be altered. As one writer has it: 'the poet was putt to make an ignorant shifte by abusing Sir John Falstophe.' The source of these suggestions is obviously Shakespeare himself, who gives an ambiguous explanation in his epilogue to the second part of 'Henry IV':—'If you be not too much cloyed with fat meat, our humble author will continue the story with Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Katharine of France; where, for anything I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat, unless already he be killed with your hard opinions; for Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man.'

On the other hand, there is neither evidence nor even suggestion that Shakespeare changed his text to suit the change of name. He still lets Prince Henry address his favourite as 'my old lad of the castle': this, and the defective metre of 'Away, good lads, Falstaff sweats to death,' are two only out of many items of evidence directly to the contrary. How then can we account at all for the Fastolf of Caister element? Shall we argue that the dramatist, unequal to depicting Oldcastle from Oldcastle materials and his own imagination, deliberately borrowed very incorrect and prejudiced details from the later life of another man? If such an argument was sound it might help to account for the choice of a new name; but after all it is useless to discuss the bearings of two plays ('Henry IV' and 'Henry VI') in which the hand of the dramatist is unequally employed.

In order to sweep away once and for all these tangled and illogical speculations, which I have called in jest the authoritative case, it would seem sufficient merely to show that there did exist in the reign of Henry IV a well-known man of the name of Sir John Fastolf, who was dead before Fastolf of Caister won his spurs in France. But I have

a far fuller and more piquant solution than this to offer the student of history, if only he will bear with me while I unfold my story.

Why did Shakespeare make such a person as Sir John Falstaff, *alias* Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, the boon companion of Prince Henry of Monmouth? Many chronicles agree in stating that Henry V when he became king put on the new man, thus plainly indicating that his was a madcap youth; but such guarded references to the prince's early indiscretions as we get from these sources could never have inspired the character-painting of Shakespeare's 'Henry IV': the profligate heir to the throne and his graceless companions, these were undoubtedly begotten of one dominating, traditional episode in the life of the prince, namely, the episode of the assault on Chief Justice Gascoigne. This case also has been authoritatively dealt with, and pronounced a fable invented by Sir John Elyot to please Henry VIII.

Here we are confronted with a more difficult and rather important problem. We must begin by telling the story; it is always worth repeating. Sir Thomas Elyot, in 1531, first published it in his book 'The Governor.'[1]

'We lacke not of this vertue domisticall examples, I meane of our owne kynges of Englande; but moste specially one, whiche, in myne oppinion, is to be compared with any that ever was written of in any region or countray.'

This preamble, let me remark, implies that the author is taking his story from a written source. Elyot, however, is no historian, and the fact that he tells a story is not evidence for or against its truth.

The moste renowned prince, Kynge Henry the fifte, late Kynge of Englande, durynge the life of his father was noted to be fierce and of wanton courage It hapned that one of his seruantes whom he well fauored, for felony by hym committed, was arrayned at the Kynge's benche; wherof he being aduertised

[1] Ed. Croft, 1880, pp. 60–72.

and incensed by light persones aboute hym, in furious rage came hastily to the barre, where his seruant stode as a prisoner, and commaunded hym to be ungyued and sette at libertie, where at all men were abasshed, reserued the chiefe iustice, who humbly exhorted the prince to be contented that his seruant mought be ordred accordyng to the auncient lawes of this realme, or if he wolde haue hym saued from the rigour of the lawes, that he shuld optaine, if he moughte, of the kynge, his father, his gracious pardone ; wherby no lawe or iustice shulde be derogate. With whiche answere the prince nothynge appeased, but rather more inflamed, endeuored hym selfe to take away his seruant. The iuge consideringe the perilous example and inconuenience that moughte thereby ensue, with a valiant spirite and courage commaunded the prince upon his alegeance to leue the prisoner and departe his waye. With whiche commandment the prince being set all in a fury, all chafed, and in a terrible maner, came up to the place of iugement—men thinkyng that he wolde have slayne the iuge, or haue done to hym some damage ; but the iuge sittyng styll, without mouynge, declarynge the maiestie of the kynge's place of iugement, and with an assured and bolde countenance, hadde to the prince these words folowyng : Sir remembre your selfe ; I kepe here the place of the King, your soveraigne lorde and father, to whom ye owe double obedience, wherfore, eftsones in his name, I charge you desiste of your wilfulnes and unlawfull entreprise, and from hensforth gyue good example to those whiche hereafter shall be your propre subiectes. And nowe for your contempt and disobedience, go you to the prisone of the Kynge's benche, where unto I committ you ; and remayne ye there prisoner untill the pleasure of the Kyng, your father, be further knowen. With whiche wordes beinge abasshed, and also wondrynge at the meruailous grauitie of that worshipful Justice, the noble prince, layinge his waipon aparte, doinge reuerence, departed and wente to the Kynge's benche as he was commaunded. Wherat his seruants disdainyng, came and shewed to the Kynge all the hole affaire.

Henry IV thereupon makes a pious speech which we need not repeat. Subsequently to Elyot, the historian Hall and one Redman both give a version of this story, but I do not propose to cite either. Warned, however, by experience in another controversy I should perhaps mention

that Chief Justice Coke, in his 'Third Institute,' refers to the incident and mentions the judge by name, citing Elyot and Holinshed as his authorities.[1] Another judge (*temp.* Elizabeth) is also reported as having cited the case, mentioning Gascoigne by name.[2] We possess at present no contemporary account of the incident, and no account earlier than that of Sir Thomas Elyot.

It will have been observed that while the name of the judge, not stated by Elyot, has now been supplied, we are still left without any clue as to the date of the incident and the names of the prince's associates. These are furnished (if we may accept such evidence) by Shakespeare and other dramatists. The chief associate of the prince in his frolics is Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, according to the author of 'The Famous Victories of Henry V'; and, as already mentioned, Oldcastle changed to Falstaff according to Shakespeare, who emphasises the change by declaring that 'Oldcastle died a martyr and this is not the man.' As to the lesser associates, and in particular as regards the person who did the deed which provoked Henry's intervention, we learn nothing definite; the names vary, and are clearly as unimportant as they are fictitious. The date of the episode in question is fixed by Shakespeare's context; it is represented as having happened prior to the Scrope rebellion of 1405.

This is all the evidence hitherto produced which is worth citing, and I do not imagine that even the youngest historical student would be willing to accept the story on such evidence alone; the credibility of that evidence must be tested in every possible way.

Let us see first of all whether the story is intrinsically credible. Here the discussion of the pros and cons is facilitated by the existence of an essay, published in 1886 in the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. The

[1] P. 225.

[2] Crompton, 1594, p. 79: 'Whidden cites a case in the time of Gascoigne . . .'

writer was the late Mr. F. Solly-Flood, Q.C., M.A.Camb., F.R.Hist.S., sometime H.M. Attorney-General at Gibraltar, and author of a work in which 'all the known cases of contempt . . . from the time of Magna Charta to the death of Henry V' are dealt with. The essay in question is said to be 'valuable' by the distinguished bibliographer Dr. Gross, and is characterised as 'exhaustive' by the 'Dictionary of National Biography'; it is one of the authorities, already referred to, which condemns the whole story under discussion as a fable. The author's arguments against Elyot's tale on internal evidence are these:

'Now it happens that in Gascoign's time the English language, in which the Chief Justice is described as having addressed the prince, was not used on the bench'[1]

One might with as much reason denounce the writer who attributed to Julius Caesar the words 'I came, I saw, I conquered,' on the ground that Caesar knew no English; moreover, by a very famous statute, passed in the thirty-sixth year of Edward III, it was expressly enacted that judgments were to be delivered in the English tongue and enrolled in Latin.

There was not then, and never had been, neither was there ever for many years afterwards, such a place of custody as the 'prysone of the Kynge's Bench,' neither did the court of King's Bench ever commit to any 'streight prisone'[2] or to any prison at all. They committed to the personal custody of their own officer, called the marshal, who was always present in the court when sitting, and every such commitment was recorded thus: '*Committitur marescallo.*'[3]

On the contrary, the court of King's Bench always committed to the prison of the King's Bench. The expression '*committitur marescallo*' is an abbreviation of the fuller

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 57.
[2] These are the words used by Hall.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 57.

phrase '*committitur prisone in custodia marescalli*'[1] and the prison itself is quite commonly described as the prison of the marshalsea of the King's Bench.[2]

No instance whatever has yet been found in any . . . rolls or . . . year-books of any committal *in penam* by the court of King's Bench, in a summary manner, and without indictment, presentment, information, or arraignment for contempt, committed even in its presence, up to a considerable period after the death of Henry IV.

It is always difficult to criticise an unintelligible assertion. How could a court possibly commit for an offence of which it has no information? Can it be argued that a court, say in the reign of Henry III, was not fully informed of a contempt which it had seen committed in its very presence? Is there any distinction in principle between Prince Henry's matter and the following case in the reign of Edward I?—'And because the Lord Robert Fitzwalter in the presence of the justices threatened the foresters and verderers who had indicted him, he is adjudged to go

[1] See Controlment Roll 46, 4 Henry IV, m. 6d., m. 11; and the Controlment Rolls of this and the preceding reign *passim*.

[2] Controlment Roll 2, m. 39: in prisona marescalcie regis coram rege detentus.

Coram Rege Roll, T. 22 Richard II, m. 17d.: Tempore promulgacionis utlagarie predicte et diu antea et postea fuit in prisona dicti nuper regis marescalcie sue banci ipsius nuper regis coram ipso nuper rege in custodia Iohannis Wykes tunc marescalli marescalcie predicte ac in prisona marescalcie domini Henrici nunc regis banci sui coram ipso nunc rege in custodia dicti Iohannis Wykes marescalli regis nunc marescalcie predicte, occasione felonie predicte et adhuc est.

Controlment Roll 44, 1 Henry IV, m. 14d.: reddidit se prisone marescalcie domini regis occasione predicta qui committitur marescallo.

Ibid. m. 16: in prisona marescalcie domini regis coram ipso rege existens.

Controlment Roll 46, 4 Henry IV, m. 23d.: et ea occasione prisone marescalcie de banco nostro ad sectam pincernarum nostrorum commissus fuit.

Patent Rolls Calendar, 1383, p. 278: Appointment of Robert Bracy, warden of the Marshalsea prison of the King's Bench, to provide carts for the carriage of the King's prisoners to divers parts of the realm where the Bench sits.

to prison and is given a day to appear before the King.'[1] The simplest answer to this particular argument is that it is quite irrelevant. Elyot does not assert that Henry was committed '*in penam*'; he is not even stated to have been committed '*ad respondendum*'; the committal in fact corresponds exactly with the—'And because he is a baron, therefore the lord King must be spoken to,' which is so common in the reign of Edward I. It is well known that the baron committed in this last-mentioned way left the court, in mercy as to his property, but a free man; the case was going to end with a disbursement in the Exchequer, *secundum modum delicti.*

So far as internal evidence is concerned our critic gives us no further assistance, and we must proceed unaided to consider what is said to have occurred, and to compare the story with the legal practice of the period. In the first place, no one seems to have noticed that according to Elyot the prince never went to prison at all—he merely went to the 'King's Bench.' What the exact practice was I cannot say for certain: going to the King's Bench was a symbolic act, signifying submission to the jurisdiction, and it may have meant going to a certain slab of marble in Westminster Hall known by that name. It is true that this symbolic act was commonly entered on the plea-rolls as '*reddidit se prisone*'; but it is absolutely certain that this meant nothing similar to going to prison; the Earl of Warwick, for instance, in high favour with Henry IV, 'rendered himself to prison' early in the reign for the purpose of having a judgment against himself reversed for error.[2] It would be absurd to suggest that the Earl went to prison in the ordinary sense of the word.

Having related this act of submission by the prince Elyot's story goes off at a tangent. Assuming the story true it was scarcely worth recounting how the incident of committal actually closed, the practice was so well settled

[1] Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Forest Proceedings, 12, m. 6d.
[2] Coram Rege Roll, E. 1 Henry IV, m. 8d.

and so unsensational. The prince would have been instantly reconducted before the Chief Justice by the marshal; and even if his rank had been less than it was, he would, judging by precedent, have been allowed to depart *sine die* and unconditionally.[1] Such is the internal evidence. It will be enough to say by way of comment that the story, as told by Elyot, is a much safer guide to the practice of the King's Bench at the time than any of its critics.

The extrinsic evidence against the story is twofold: (i) No extant contemporary chronicler relates the tale; (ii) the committal is not entered on the plea rolls of the court.

Upon the first point it seems necessary to say no more than this: chroniclers relate how Henry on his accession became a changed man, but not a single one of his pranks is related, though he must clearly have committed many follies quite as serious as the one in question if these hints of an amended life are at all justifiable. Moreover, if the story is true, *ex hypothesi* someone chronicled it, while of his other follies no record remains.

In support of the second point, we are told that the records of the King's Bench have been twice searched by independent inquirers with a view to setting the matter at rest; in fact, this argument *a silentio* is put very forcibly by the same learned counsel whose criticisms are quoted above. He says this:[2]

> . . . Lord Campbell, when he ventured to enter the lists against Mr. Tyler, must have known what every member of the legal profession knows, that there are two great rolls of the court, on both of which such an event as the committal of any man by the court for contempt or any other offence could not possibly have failed to be recorded. These rolls are the Rotuli Coram Rege and Controlment Rolls. . . . They are extant

[1] The following is common practice according to the rolls: 'reddidit se prisone, qui committitur marescallo, et statim per marescallum ductus venit et petit a prisona domini regis deliberari, et quia . . . Consideratum est quod est ad praesens sine die.'

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 146.

for the whole of the reign of Henry IV, without the loss of a single membrane or part of a membrane. On each of these rolls every commitment either *ad respondendum* or *in penam* for any offence or cause whatever, made by the court of King's Bench, is to be seen. But not the slightest trace of the commitment of the prince, or of the commitment of any person whatever for any such offence as that attributed to the prince has, after a most careful, diligent, and exhaustive search through all the rolls for the whole of the reign of Henry IV, made by the present writer himself in person, been discovered on any roll or record whatever. The non-existence of any record of a commitment of the prince will be conclusive to the mind of everyone conversant with legal procedure that the story of his misconduct in court and imprisonment is absolutely untrue. . . .

'Exhaustive search' evidently means different things to different persons; so it is desirable to point out that such search, in this case, was insufficient to inform the searcher that the King's Bench were wont to commit to prison; did not apparently reveal the fact that the Baga de Secretis, or Privy Bag, was in constant use, which discovery alone would have necessitated some modification of the quite untrue statement that every commitment is entered on both these rolls; and did not even disclose the circumstance that five, or more than one-third, of the Controlment Rolls for this reign are missing.

With regard to the Baga, it should be pointed out that, assuming some record would have been made of the prince's contempt, it would have been entered on a slip of parchment and filed in the Privy Bag; no mention of it would appear on any roll, unless the matter was further proceeded with. It was, moreover, the common practice to deal summarily with certain committals for contempt, without recording either the contempt or the committal. This I am going to prove.

A second, independent search of the Controlment Rolls was instituted by the latest editor of 'The Governor' a few years after the first. 'It is certain,' this writer observes in a note, 'from the previous condition of these rolls that

no writer in the present century has ventured upon such a method of verification.'[1] I need only repeat that, for the purpose of proving a negative, this method is extremely defective.

I will now tender in evidence the story of a gross contempt of court, committed some time prior to the Scrope rebellion of 1405. The story begins a score of years earlier, and very prosaically with the following uncancelled entry on the Close Roll for 3 Richard II, m. 10d :

Hugh Fastolf and John Organ, citizens of London, acknowledge that they owe to John de Cobham, lord Cobham, 800 marks, to be paid to him at the feast of Pentecost next ; and, unless they do so, they concede that the aforesaid moneys shall be raised from their lands and chattels in London, and in the counties of Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk, and elsewhere. Witness the King at Westminster, the 28th day of March.

The next incident in the story is thus entered up in the Coram Rege Roll for Hilary, 4 Henry IV, m. 25 :

The jury, between John de Cobham, lord Cobham, by his attorney, plaintiff, and John Fastolf, knight, son and heir of Hugh Fastolf late citizen of London, summoned to find, etc., whether the aforesaid John Fastolf, on the 3rd day of December in the first year of the reign of our present lord King, or at any time afterwards, held the manors of Bradwell, Olton and Kyrkele with their appurtenances in the county aforesaid, which belonged to the aforesaid Hugh after the 28th day of March in the 3rd year of the reign of our lord King Richard, late King of England the second after the conquest, on which day the said Hugh Fastolf and John Organ, then citizens of London, now deceased, in the chancery of the same late King, acknowledged that they owed to the aforesaid John de Cobham 800 marks, as it is alleged, or no, is respited before the lord King until fifteen days from Easter day, wherever, etc., owing to the default of jurors because none, etc. Therefore let the sheriff have their bodies etc., and eight such are appointed, etc. The same day is given to the parties aforesaid.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 61 *n.*

Now, as a matter of fact, a serious contempt had been perpetrated, although no inkling of this appears in the roll. Sir John Fastolf, or someone on his behalf, had prevented the jury from giving their verdict. What exactly took place we are not told; but there appears to have been a brawl, ending in some of the jurors being hounded out of court; at all events Fastolf was committed and his contempt was summarily dealt with, as reported below from the Rex Roll, m. 18, for the same term, and the Controlment Roll, 4 Henry IV, m. 13d:

(England.) Memorandum that on Thursday next before the quindene of Hilary in this same term before the lord King at Westminster came Adam Cliston, knight, of the county of Norfolk, William Calthorp, knight, of the same county, John Wilton, knight, of the same county, and John Norwich of the county of Suffolk, in their own persons, and mainperned for John Fastolf, knight, then present in court, that he would thenceforth be of good behaviour towards the lord King and all his people, and especially towards twelve jurors impanelled and on the said quindene sworn before the King [in the suit] between John lord Cobham, plaintiff, and the said John Fastolf, defendant, upon a certain acknowledgement of 800 marks made in the Chancery of the lord King, as more fully appears by the record before the said King, that the same John Fastolf will not do or cause to be done, by himself or others, to the same jurors or any of them or any of the people of the lord King, damage or bodily hurt, by threats, assaults, insults, or any other means which might in any manner tend to a lesion or disturbance of the peace of the lord King, each of the mainpernors under penalty of 200*l.*, and the said John Fastolf, under penalty of 500*l.*, which 200*l.*, each of the said mainpernors by himself, and which 500*l.* the said John Fastolf, acknowledged that they owed to the lord King to be raised out of the lands and chattels of them and each of them to the King's use according to the mainprise aforesaid, if the said John Fastolf should make default in the premises or any of the premises and therefore be lawfully convicted.

The above-named parties are Sir John Fastolf of Nacton, or Cowhawe in Nacton, who flourished and died in the

reign of Henry IV ; and Sir John, Lord Cobham, the father-in-law of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.

The circumstances of this contempt of court, and the conjunction of these two names seem altogether too extraordinary for a mere coincidence. It is now, to say the least, quite probable that Elyot was telling a true story, but, owing to the King's Bench practice of not enrolling either contempt or committal in cases of this kind, we are left to conjecture what happened. Here, then, let us suggest, is quite a gentlemanly brawl in the court of King's Bench : Prince Henry and Fastolf have brought off a joke against an old friend of the King ; Nym, Poins, and Bardolf, their servants, fictitious names but real persons, have with Irish gaiety done a little jury-driving in Westminster Hall ; Bardolf is caught by the ushers and dragged before the Chief Justice. Everyone in court is tittering, Gascoigne is furious. One can imagine him exclaiming ' Let a jury be impanelled instanter—this rogue shall hang.' Then the prince gets angry and the regrettable incident occurs. After the dramatic, aye, and princely act of submission, Fastolf sees a way out of the business ; he comes forward and confesses to being responsible for Bardolf's contempt, *factum illud bene advocavit* as the court remembrancer would say ; whereupon he is committed and bound over to keep the peace in manner recounted, and thus the matter terminates.

Now that the ground has been cleared and these fresh facts brought to light, it is quite likely that still further evidence will soon be forthcoming which will completely establish Elyot's story ; but it is worth raising the question on the evidence as it stands, whether historians should accept or reject the account of Prince Henry's committal. We may surmise that Mr. Wylie for one would accept the story. If I interpret him aright he was prepared to accept it when he wrote his ' History of Henry IV,' subject to the assumption that the prince's imprisonment was merely nominal, and I have fully justified that assumption. On

the other hand, it is probable that many historians will still reject the story. Which view is right? The problem turns upon the admissibility of non-contemporary evidence.

The following rules for the admission or rejection of non-contemporary evidence commend themselves to the present writer.

1. Non-contemporary evidence of a fact is excluded by contemporary evidence of the fact.

2. More remote non-contemporary evidence of a fact is excluded by less remote evidence of the fact.

3. Subject to the foregoing rules, non-contemporary evidence of a fact is admissible in the following circumstances:

(i) It is intrinsically credible, *and*—

(ii) It is consistent with all extant contemporary evidence, *and*—

(iii) It is corroborated in some material particular by contemporary evidence, *or*—

(iv) There is credible evidence that the non-contemporary statement comes from a contemporary source.

These rules would obviously require elaboration to meet special cases; but as applicable to all ordinary cases they ought, I think, to commend themselves to every historian.

Let us summarise the argument and apply these rules.

The story of Prince Henry's committal is quite credible judged by internal evidence. Moreover, we have the following extrinsic evidence: (Non-contemporary) One of Henry's associates gets into a scrape in the King's Bench, and the prince intervenes [Elyot]; Henry's chief associate in his pranks is Sir John Fastolf, called Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham by mistake, and the event in question occurs before 1405 [Shakespeare]. (Contemporary) Sir John Fastolf did get into a serious scrape, before 1405, in the King's Bench, over a case to which a John Lord Cobham was party [original records of the King's Bench].

Elyot's story taken by itself clearly survives rules 1, 2, and 3, i. As regards rule 3, ii, there is, so far as is known, no inconsistent contemporary evidence. Prince Henry may well have been in London at the time. His household was at Kempton from the end of November to January 6, 1402–3; by January 29 it had been removed to Kenilworth; in the interval his harness and effects are being carted from Kempton and London.[1] Rule 3, iii, is the difficulty. Elyot is not actually corroborated by any contemporary evidence until we admit the additional details furnished by Shakespeare, but of these there is no corroboration independent of Elyot's story. It might be suggested that rule 2 excludes even the additional details furnished by Shakespeare; this, I think, would be placing too strict an interpretation on the rule; on the contrary, it would be allowing too loose an interpretation to admit these additional details without requiring independent corroboration. In other words, if they cannot be admitted at all except as distinct facts, they must be corroborated as such. The story therefore of Prince Henry's committal is not strictly proved, and historians are justified in not accepting it until further evidence is forthcoming. Conversely, the story is highly probable, and there is no justification for describing it as untrue.

This conclusion is disappointing but not irrevocable, and some useful results have been achieved by the present inquiry. The Falstaff case no longer stands where it did. If the stage knight was really meant for Fastolf, then we have a far more plausible solution to offer than any which has yet been put forward. Sir John of Caister is dismissed as an interloper, Sir John of Nacton is the man. Finally, some much needed scavenging has been effected in a popular corner of English history.

[1] Exchequer Accounts, 404, file 23.

CONCERNING THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

By R. A. ROBERTS, Barrister-at-Law (an Assistant Keeper of the Public Records and Secretary of the Commission)

Read April 21, 1910

THE audience which assembles in this room on occasions similar to the present is, most frequently, I suppose, addressed with reference to some section or phase of the subject-matter of history. As a rule, results of historical study and investigation, whether it be of a period or of a particular series of events, or of the policy or character of some statesman or famous person, or of some political movement, or the like, are laid before you. This afternoon your attention is asked while I endeavour to speak on something different, having to do with the subject-matter of history undoubtedly, but rather from the outside than the inside. I am to speak, that is to say, of certain machinery by the operation of which the crude material or *pabulum* of the historical student and investigator is brought to 'market overt,' there to be bought, I may add in passing, at a ridiculously cheap price, being sold, as all the world may note, according to a strictly mechanical method of appreciation, at the price, namely, of about threepence for each section of 64 octavo pages. This generous dealing with the public is due to a resolution of the House of Commons, passed, I am informed, about the year 1832, the members at that time being persuaded that their constituents were thirsting to purchase Blue-books if only their means permitted, and being greatly concerned therefore that a sufficient number of copies of all parliamentary papers should be printed so as

to allow this eager desire for this form of literature to be gratified at the cheapest possible rate. And I may explain, once for all, that the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission are, in form, nothing more nor less than sessional papers, which it is the privilege of members of both Houses of Parliament to receive gratuitously in ever-abounding quantities.

My theme is the comprehensive one of 'The Historical Manuscripts Commission' and all its works, good, bad, and indifferent, and since my purpose will be best served if I have liberty to range at large over the ground, picking up relevant facts here and there as occasion serves, I have secured to myself that freedom, with the kind concurrence of our honoured Director, by taking an all-round text.

For a first definite step in the origin of the Historical Manuscripts Commission we may go back to the end of the year 1859. In December of that year a memorial was presented to Lord Palmerston, then Prime Minister, urging him to issue a commission, the object of which should be, in the memorialists' words, 'to rescue from oblivion, and in many cases from decay, valuable collections of papers, the contents of which were unknown even to their possessors, but which were in several cases' (note how modestly the matter is put) 'of the highest value on account of the information which they would afford on matters of history, law, legislation, biography, and several other important matters.' This memorial was powerfully signed—by twenty-nine members of the House of Peers, including Lord Brougham, Lord Macaulay, the Duke of Argyll, and the three Archbishops; by thirty members of the House of Commons, among whom Mr. Gladstone figures; and by a long list of men celebrated for their great learning and acquirements, among whom stood Professor Creasy, Dr. Milman, Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Trench, Dean of Westminster, the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, Dr. Vaughan (then of Harrow), Dean Stanley (then Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford), Grote, Hallam, Carlyle,

Forster, Helps, Kingsley, Froude ;—indeed, so powerful a list of signatories is it, that it is almost a matter of wonder that ten years were to elapse before the Commission, as we know it, was launched upon the world.

This event—the conditions of which were conceived in a very moderate spirit, whose operations were, at the first, intended to be tentative in character ; to have, indeed, according to one proposal, merely a five years' trial—happened in the same month of the year, April, that now witnesses this meeting, on the second day of the month, and in the year 1869, so that it has now run a course of forty-one complete years. The object of the Commission is stated thus : That whereas, belonging to many institutions and private families, there were collections of manuscripts and papers of general public interest, a knowledge of which would be of great utility in the illustration of history, constitutional law, science, and general literature ; that in some cases these were liable to be lost or obliterated ; that there would be considerable public advantage in its being generally known where such papers were deposited ; and finally, that it was eminently to be wished that their contents, if pertinent, should be published ; these four considerations having due weight given to them, then royal authority stepped in and authorised certain Commissioners to take the necessary steps to carry them out. Here are admirably set forth the aims and objects of the Commission from that moment to this, though we are not without hopes that the experience gained in the course of years has improved both the methods and the results.

The royal Commissioners first appointed were a strong body, calculated to recommend the advances to be made to owners of manuscripts who possibly might have looked askance at any investigation of private papers ; and not only were they a strong body, but they contained among their number those who were intimately concerned with the promotion of historical research, and had exercised their energies in other and analogous fields. To wit : Lord Romilly,

Master of the Rolls, first chairman of the Commission, who had been already associated (in the work of the Public Record Office established not so many years previously in its present building in Chancery Lane) with another of the commissioners, Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, his Deputy Keeper of the Records, in efforts to make the records of the nation accessible to students by the publication of the series of calendars and chronicles which are so widely known and have been so largely utilised. Another among the first commissioners was the fifth Earl Stanhope, himself distinguished as an historian no less than in other directions. The mention of these three names is sufficient to explain how it was that the idea of an agency which was to be devoted to the methodical and continuous investigation of such historical material as was lying hidden, possibly unregarded or set aside as worthless, in private hands, consolidated out of the aspirations of learned men into an actual constellation with a fixed orbit and definite functions. I will mention no other of the Commissioners first appointed, distinguished and directly interested in the objects of the scheme and helpful in their promotion though they were, save one, and that because he alone survives of them all, an honorary vice-president of our Society. He was then a young man and known as Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice; now, after a long and distinguished public career, he is not so very old, and is known as the first Baron Fitzmaurice.

Between the date of the issue of the first Commission and the present moment, the body of Commissioners has been several times added to and renewed, and many changes have taken place. In the course of the years, distinguished men have come on to it and gone from it, among whom I may mention Lord Houghton, Lord Acton, Dr. Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, Mr. Lecky, and Dr. Gardiner.

Its first secretary was Mr. Wilford George Brett, who died a year or two after his appointment.

Valuable support had been offered on the part of owners of manuscripts—notably by the Marquis of Salisbury in

respect of the incomparable collection at Hatfield—even before the Commission was issued; but if there had been any anticipation that the activities of the Commission would be restricted or made more difficult, by indisposition or opposition on the part of owners, it was soon proved to be groundless. In fact, the proposals of the Commission met with full appreciation and favourable reception. The immediate result of the sending out of a circular was that many collections, the existence of which until then was unknown, were brought to light and submitted to inspection. The first Report of the Commissioners puts it that no less than 180 persons and 'heads of institutions'—who, apparently, are to be distinguished from persons—had expressed their willingness to co-operate with the Commissioners, or requested their aid in making known the contents of their collections. The opportunities offered were indeed so great that they amounted almost to an embarrassment. Under the circumstances no more could be done in the first instance than to have a preliminary general survey of the several collections placed at the disposal of the Commissioners, and to arrange a circuit of places to be visited by the inspectors, abstaining from detailed calendaring of the papers. The results are seen in the early folio-sized reports of the Commission, which now to the ardent investigator appear in many cases to be so meagre, so tantalising, whetting the appetite, but far from satisfying it. He is not a little exasperated, I suspect, when he reads, for example, 'A bundle of original letters,' or 'Another bundle of letters, &c.' with just a few dates and the names of some of the writers; or such a note as 'Several by the Duchess of Marlborough,' and nothing more; or 'Queen Anne to Lord Treasurer Harley (between fifty and sixty letters),' and nothing more; or, again, as in another report, 'Letters to His Grace (the Duke of Marlborough) from persons surnamed from A to Z,' with columns of names and nothing further. I can imagine him grinding his teeth in impotent rage. But looking back now, from the calmer and more organised period, when the reports of inspectors

offer to the reader matter in ordered, sometimes minute detail, as one realises how much there must have been of inexperience, and the embarrassment of numberless collections, some huge in character, hurled, so to speak, at the inspectors' heads, or at any rate pressed into their hands, in those early days of the Commission's operations (101 collections having been examined, for example, in the year 1870), one begins to understand that the inspectors did, on behalf of the Commissioners, what alone was possible under the circumstances, and one begins to view the results of their labours with a more grateful mind.

For the disclosures made for the first time ; the stimulus given to owners of manuscripts to investigate their possessions—to examine coffers, muniment rooms, attics, lofts, even stable-lofts, and to rescue precious papers from the predatory cook or housemaid lighting reluctant fires on the dark winter mornings : to give an altogether new standard of value to what previously had often been regarded as insufferable rubbish ; all this was of itself an immense movement in a right direction. That this kind of benefit was soon to show, is proved by several instances. Almost too well known to cite, perhaps, but yet an admirable instance, is the story told by the present Deputy Keeper of the Records in the introduction to the first volume of the Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland, where he relates that the casual discovery by him of a key bearing a label ' Key of old writings over stable ' led to the opening, the first time for many years, of a room curtained with cobwebs, the happy hunting ground of rats, piled up with a vast mass of documents, from among which were selected, not without unremitting labour and direct personal dealing with offensive circumstances, letters and papers that now form the principal part of that most valuable collection, the report upon which has extended to four octavo volumes. The noble owner, when the true conditions were made known to him, at once realised the value of what had then been brought to light, and the papers themselves were forthwith

cleaned, mounted on guards, and bound in a series of handsome volumes, at no little expense.

Another instance may be taken from the muniment room of a provincial municipality, that of Southampton. Here the municipal records were found in a state of disorder, but the visit of the inspector incited the corporation to take a juster view of municipal duty in respect of the records belonging to the town, and there followed arrangement bringing order out of chaos at the expense of the corporation,[1] an example that has been followed in other towns.

The Commissioners, in their second report, pointing to their labours so far as they had then proceeded, when the instances which I have quoted were still the striking and happy discoveries and arrangements of the future, might well confidently speak of the success of their inquiry. I quote the passage from their report, since it strikes the mind as eminently just, and since, simple in statement as it is, it has something of eloquence in its presentation of the facts.

'It only remains for your Commissioners to state that they feel perfectly satisfied with the result of their inquiry so far as it has proceeded at present. They entertain a confident hope that their future labours will tend greatly to the advancement of historical literature by bringing to the notice of the world important papers and manuscripts, the existence of which might possibly be unknown to the majority of those who may be interested in the inquiry. Your Commissioners are inclined to think that a continuation of their efforts may be the means of preventing those casualties to which valuable collections of manuscripts are liable from various causes—casualties arising not infrequently from changes in families, from removal of manuscripts and ignorance of the localities to which they have been transferred. It may also be of importance to the possessors of valuable documents to know where papers cognate with those in their possession are to be found, and into what direction the lines of correspondence consequent on family

[1] 11th Report App. pt. III.

alliances or intermarriage may have diverged; whilst to those who are engaged in biographical, historical, or political researches, no greater boon can be offered than well-authenticated information where materials which are indispensable for the due prosecution of their inquiries are preserved. Your Commissioners have also to suggest whether it might not be desirable (with the full consent of the owners) for copies to be taken of the more valuable papers in private collections, not with a view to publication, but as an additional security against those accidents to which all manuscripts are exposed—accidents which in more ways than one have already inflicted irreparable injury on the historical and biographical literature of this country; and not infrequently on the memories of those who have served it with the greatest efficiency and fidelity.'[1]

The allusion to exposure to accident and the part which the Commissioners might take in mitigating the danger, or even in the rescue of papers from destruction, has been justified in various ways in many cases. A signal instance occurred not long ago. It will probably be in the memory of this audience that a year or two back a disastrous fire destroyed a large portion of an ancient historic mansion, Burley-on-the-Hill, the library, with pictures and furniture, included. Here had been preserved papers of more than ordinary interest and value from an historical point of view.

Regarding with sorrowing eyes the ruined building—stark walls, smouldering heaps, appalling confusion, irreparable loss—the alarming question leaped to the mouth, 'What about the papers?' That question, the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners were happily able to answer with reassuring certitude. The papers not many months before had been brought up to the Public Record Office to be arranged and reported upon. At the time of the fire they were resting within those safe precincts; they are still there; and I think the promise can be made,

[1] 2nd Report, pp. xxi–xxv.

with practically certain hope of fulfilment, that within a very short period an adequate report upon the Finch papers, which were *not* burnt in the fire at Burley-on-the-Hill, will be offered for your delight—at the usual price.

Pursuing the subject of the indirect results that have followed from the stimulating existence of the Commission, I advance some others. Private manuscripts, to which, even when their existence was known, access would of necessity be difficult and intermittent, have passed by gift or loan or purchase into the keeping of public institutions, where access is easy and continuous, and safety as nearly perfect as may be ; notably, to the British Museum and the Bodleian Library by purchase or gift ; and to the Public Record Office by gift alone, because that institution does not purchase. Let me adduce an instance or two with regard to the Public Record Office. Lord Cawdor, in the year 1870, through the Historical Manuscripts Commission, deposited there the magnificent heraldic and genealogical collection in four volumes known as the 'Golden Grove Book,' as a gracious loan for public use. The 'Cornwallis' papers were similarly deposited by Lord Braybrooke in 1880; and the 'Chatham papers,' an immense series of correspondence of the first Earl of Chatham and his son William Pitt, was first entrusted to the care of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in the Public Record Office in 1888, and subsequently devised to the nation by the will of the public-spirited owner, Admiral Pringle. I should also mention the Manchester papers and the Shaftesbury papers.

As another indirect result, I may adduce, I think, the praiseworthy operations of special and local societies and private persons. The early labours of the inspectors sent out by the Commissioners disclosed what did or should exist and pointed the way. And now has been accomplished fine work, such as that of the present Provost of King's College, Cambridge, for the muniments of the Colleges, to refer to one notable example. I read in a recent issue of *The Times*, with

great interest, another and quite late instance : the account of the operations of the Cantilupe Society on the diocesan records of Hereford.

And yet one more indirect result, if you please : mechanical, it may be, but nevertheless most important. Many a manuscript, fast falling into final decay, has, through the advice and under the direction of the Commission (but, of course, at the expense of the owners), not only renewed its crisp youth, but has also been endowed with enduring qualities that will enable it to survive for the information and delight of generations not only yet unborn but belonging to a future entirely outside our present ken.

The passage that I read just now expressed the views and sentiments of the Commissioners in 1871, after their operations had been carried on for a couple of years or so. We stand at this moment with a retrospect of nearly forty years separating us from that time.

Before I address myself to some aspects of the work accomplished during this period, let me explain a characteristic of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, which its persistence in being for more than a generation tends to conceal : from some, that is, but not from everybody, for not long ago I was asked when the volumes emanating from the commission would probably come to an end. The question was put to me by a binder of books for a gentleman's library who desired to know how much cloth of a particular colour it would be necessary for him to lay in stock, so that the backs of the whole series of Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports might be consistent as regards their aspect on the library shelves. I was fain to reply : that we had existed for forty years or more, and that there was a presumption that still, year after year, for many years to come, new volumes would appear. From his point of view this reply was, I doubt not, most unsatisfactory. There was nothing inherently absurd in his question, for the Historical Manuscripts Commission is, strictly speaking, a ' Temporary Commission,' with a big ' T ' indeed, but yet

of the class in which are also included the Epizootic Abortion Committee, the Vivisection Commission, the Sewage Disposal Commission, the Shipping Rings Commission, and the like, having therefore presumably an end in view in more senses than one. But since, at the present moment, the work to which its energies may be legitimately and to good purpose devoted seems rather to increase in quantity than to decrease, that end, subject of course to the will of Parliament, is practically not in view but altogether out of sight. Speaking from a knowledge of the material that offers itself in many quarters, which of necessity, as it appears to me, must still be brought to the workshop of the Commission to be dealt with according to the methods which it now employs, it will indeed be remarkable if the Historical Manuscripts Commission does not continue to exist, with the good will even of the sorely taxed subject, for many a decade yet to come. What was said by the Commissioners in the year 1879 may be said with even added emphasis in 1910 : ' There seems no likelihood that the labours of your Commissioners will shortly cease from want of material upon which to operate.'

I am afraid we do not now accomplish the Herculean task of reporting upon over a hundred separate collections of manuscripts in the course of one short period of twelve months, as our predecessors did in 1870. Pursuing present methods and working according to the present scale, so much could not be even attempted. The aim is, in regard to what is done, to do it adequately and exhaustively for the purposes of the student. An inspector of old time set his hand to the following statement : ' I determined, in the preparation of my list, to aim less at conciseness than at an explanatory amplitude that should satisfy, whilst provoking, the peruser's curiosity. With Mr. So-and-So's book (he continues) and the volumes of the *Archaeologia* at his side, the student will not come, in the following catalogue, on many matters respecting which he will find it necessary to seek further information at '—the particular place where

the manuscripts in question were deposited. That collection of manuscripts has latterly come under notice again, and with all due deference to the memory of our dead and gone and most worthy inspector, I cannot affirm that his statement exactly fits the facts. But his statement does embody the aim and desires of the Commissioners, according to present thought and purpose, in their work as now carried on, and this will justify, I hope, the lesser output. Since 1903, when I had the honour to be appointed secretary to the Commission on the death of the late Mr. J. J. Cartwright —whose memory and whose services in connexion with the Commission you will allow me to recall here with respect and gratitude—the Commissioners have issued about fifty separate volumes of reports, some of them extending to nearly 800 pages, and some of the volumes including reports on several different collections, all with introductions and for the most part carefully made indexes.

Addressing myself to that aspect of my subject which regards the whole of the operations of the Commission during the last forty years, I attempt a task which obviously to everybody present can only be accomplished in the most summary manner. Its essential work, under the guidance of successive acting Commissioners and secretaries, has, of course, been done chiefly by the aid of inspectors upon whose knowledge and discretion great reliance has necessarily been placed. It would be in vain for me to name names, but among the inspectors in the past have been men of reputation and great attainments, and I think I may say, with general assent, that the Commission at present is not less well served by its inspectors than it has been in the past. Anyone examining the series of reports will remark, I think, that in its earlier days the personality of the inspector was perhaps intruded into his report more prominently than is now the case. One finds such passages as these: 'It is to these letters that the deepest interest attaches as she signs herself in a bold handwriting indicative of the strong and earnest character which her correspondence

shows her to have possessed. . . . They are addressed to her son on the outbreak of the Civil War, and in the impassioned and affecting eloquence with which she appeals to him not to take arms against the King, there is reflected the throes of grief which she shared in common with thousands of English mothers to whom the Civil War brought the distraction of divided households,' and so on. This may be pleasant reading and is certainly fine writing, but to-day we should consider it in the body of a report not strictly 'business,' and I fear ruthlessly cut it out; and I have no doubt that the serious student will not unwillingly exchange for a descriptive report of this character one that sets out the letters and allows them to speak for themselves.

Distinguishing between the successive reports of their operations presented by the Commissioners to His Majesty the King and subsequently printed (the 17th Report made in 1907 is the last issued) and the reports of inspectors, you will find, set out in an appendix to the former, first, a list of all the reports of inspectors issued, and then a list of the names of all the owners whose collections up to June 1907 had been completely dealt with. Subsequent additions appear in the lists published within the covers of each new inspector's report. It would be impossible for me this afternoon to summarise the contents of the inspectors' Reports in general. But I should like just to name some of the series which will be found among them; for example, the 'Cecil Manuscripts,' the twelfth part of which will shortly appear, bringing the calendar down to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. To characterise these papers, I go back to a dictum of the Commissioners in the fourth report made in 1874. 'The value and extent of this correspondence, to which every person of any note at the time contributed, may be judged by the fact that scarcely a day passes from the accession of Edward VI to the close of the century' (and I may now interpolate, for several years of the next century) 'which does not produce one or more letters connected with passing events, and generally

from those whose rank and position enabled them to furnish the most secret and authentic intelligence. In these papers, the history of the times writes itself off from day to day, and almost from hour to hour, with the minuteness of a daily journal, but with a precision to which no ordinary journal could make pretence.' There are other series of papers to which almost the same words, *mutatis mutandis*, might be applied. For example, the series of the House of Lords papers, among the first to be undertaken, but no longer under the immediate control of the Commissioners; the three volumes of Coke Manuscripts, belonging to Earl Cowper; the four volumes of the Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir; the eight volumes of the Ormonde Manuscripts (three of the old series, five of the new, a sixth shortly to be added, and more to follow); the eight volumes of the Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland; the five volumes of the Grenville papers belonging to Mr. Fortescue at Dropmore, a sixth on the point of appearing, a seventh soon to be in the printers' hands; the papers relating to the War of Independence found in Vol. II of the 'Dartmouth' Report, Vol. II of the 'Stopford—Sackville' Report, the 'Knox' Report (Var. Coll. VI), the four volumes of the 'American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution,' and elsewhere; the Jacobite papers in the series of Stuart Manuscripts belonging to His Majesty the King, of which another volume is nearly due, and yet another is in the press; the manuscripts of the Marquess of Bath, noticed summarily and with tantalising brevity in early reports, but of which three volumes in a better form have appeared already, sequels of which are, I trust, in the womb of the future—with single reports which lack of time forbids me to name. Altogether, there is presented in the series of reports a body of historical material of a first-hand character which is, perhaps, at once the joy and the despair of the student and writer. What a mine of wealth it is! You may sit in your library with some 140 volumes of printed matter at hand, acquired at the price of about three farthings a sheet, and out of these

unpretending straw-coloured volumes write much of English history and English biography, or weave innumerable romances ' founded on fact.' You may get into close and intimate touch with a large number of the men and women famous in English story, and with many, many more, some worthy, some not, whose names and personalities these volumes rescue from oblivion. If, in 1872, the Commissioners of that day could justifiably affirm, with some amount of pride in the work so far accomplished, ' it is not too much to say that there is scarcely an important historical event, certainly no period of English history, which has not received some elucidation from the operations of the Commission,' I venture to think that the statement is true in an infinitely greater degree at the present moment.

For the material upon which reports are founded, the papers of individual owners have been those which have been most largely drawn upon. It is in regard to sources such as these that the work of the Commission is, from some points of view at any rate, most precious and most useful in result. The variety is greater ; the disclosures are more intimate and personal ; the original manuscripts themselves are for the most part less accessible, more liable to removal from place to place, more likely to disappear by sale or otherwise. The question is sometimes asked—in regard to this or that paper or collection of papers reported upon in one of the reports—Can information be given as to present situation or possibility of access—to whom should one apply ?—and to this question, the only possible answer is sometimes a negative one. A report upon papers gives no control over the papers themselves. Indeed, that is one of the dangers, the very suspicion of which owners would not unnaturally demand to be guarded against. They may be supposed to say : ' We generously open to the world the contents of our papers in so far as they concern society ; proprietorship we reserve, and all the rights that go with it.' Hence, I repeat, from certain points of view, the greater preciousness and usefulness of reports upon collections of

private owners. But, as you are all doubtless aware, reports have not been confined to private collections: the records of over sixty municipalities have been taken in hand from time to time, and in addition there are the reports upon the records of the Dioceses, the Chapters, and the Universities, reports which have been, I suppose, the starting-point for further efforts of a similar character carried out in greater detail by these various bodies themselves.

It is now very evident that there is, even after forty years' work, no lack of matter. Not only do new collections make constant appeal for treatment—there are vast masses of most interesting and valuable correspondence at present untouched—but there are also series of papers which the earlier reports of the Commission have brought to light, but which have been only most inadequately treated, and might (should I not add 'must'?) be done in ampler fashion over again. As regards all material, then, new and old alike, the first consideration is, *due selection*. In furtherance of this principle, there is a great deal which in earlier times, no doubt, the Commission would have, and did put its hand to without demur, which now it is constrained to pass on to other agencies. As regards institutions—public or semi-public, and permanent in their character—the contents of whose cupboards or muniment rooms should be reasonably accessible, there will be no cause of complaint if they are allowed increasingly to do their own work. And in many cases they have been stimulated to do so. But sorting, listing, and calendaring are matters of expense—the ratepayer grumbles: and it is human nature to pass an expensive duty on to other shoulders. But even here the Commission is not without power: it can still advise, and gladly would assist in this manner.

But after due selection of a collection as a whole, come considerations of adequate treatment on the one hand, and avoidance of undue repetition and excessive detail—detail unwarranted by the nature of the contents of the document or the frequency of its appearance—on the other. And

in this connexion let us turn to the muniment room of an ancient house or family, and ask what are some of the things one may expect to find there. You will not marvel if I say, in passing, that such an investigation is often a matter of the greatest interest. It necessitates sometimes penetration into gloomy, chilly, damp, low-roofed chambers, or, as you have heard, ascent of attics or stable lofts; it involves occasionally aching backs bent over huge boxes, and dusty hair, and always grimy hands. But even if it does, it is often 'very good hunting.' But whether it involve this or not, what are the classes of parchments and papers which, typically speaking, are the result of the search?

1st: There will be deeds—there nearly always are; if ancient, minute in size, but ever increasing in this respect, and increasing also as to their number, until, towards modern times, they bulk enormously. They relate to family property; are settlements on marriages, wills, sales, purchases, &c., &c.

2nd: There may be records of manorial courts, often long series of court rolls, and with them, terriers, rentals, surveys, and bailiffs' accounts.

3rd: There may be county matter, *quietuses*, documents connected with shrievalty, musters, militia, and other county business.

4th: There may be household books and household and estate accounts and vouchers—statements of revenue—and statements of household and personal expenditure.

5th: There will be correspondence, some of the highest consequence, a great deal quite trivial.

6th: There may be diaries of travel, poetical or theological or scholastic exercises or copies, extracts of favourite passages from books, or analyses of them, even school-boy and school-girl exercise books, &c., &c.

7th: There may be illuminated pedigrees, royal grants, maps and drawings.

8th: There may be pamphlets, proclamations, gazettes, newspapers, Blue-books.

And there may be other classes, that I have not time to mention.

Now, as there must be, in the first instance, discrimination between collection and collection, so must there be further discrimination in dealing with the contents of any one collection; for example:—

The deeds, except as regards those prior to the end of the twelfth century (which are copied *in extenso*, or abstracted fully, with the names of the witnesses), are now noticed in groups only, according as they relate, within certain limits of date, to certain persons or places.

The court rolls, bailiffs' accounts, and the like, often extensive in bulk, will usually be noted as to number, places, and period. Greater detail, as far as these are concerned, must be relegated to the local antiquary or special society.

County matter will be listed, or treated summarily; contents of papers under this head will not, as a rule, be set out.

Household books will be catalogued and dates given, and interesting or typical items only extracted from them. Estate accounts will for the most part be left severely alone.

Correspondence—here will be the body of a report; much of it will possibly be rejected and unnoticed, but such of the contents as are set out will be so abstracted as to use the phrases of the writers themselves to as great an extent as possible, and if quoted, quoted verbatim. If it is diplomatic or official correspondence, which is duplicated in the Public Record Office, or if it has been already printed in some publication generally accessible, it is treated very briefly (due references being given).

Lastly, diaries of travel are often drawn upon largely for the material of reports, but poetical and theological exercises will not be rescued, as a rule, from the oblivion into which they sank with the death of their fond authors, if not before.

I need not treat separately of other classes of papers. With regard to them, as with regard to all, discretion sits at

the elbow of the inspector and directs his work He aims at a logical and lucid arrangement of his material : he makes it the vehicle of *sufficient*, *accurate*, and *exact* statement of the contents of the papers before him; he seeks to extract from them the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so that, relying upon his report, the historian or biographer, or constitutional or economic writer, can truly chronicle a series of events, or vividly picture a scene, or draw the true lineaments of a character, or unravel the mysteries of a policy, or build up an argument; and to make this possible is the aim and object of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

THE DUC DE CHOISEUL AND THE INVASION OF ENGLAND, 1768-1770

By MARGARET COTTER MORISON, F.R.Hist.S.

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WHEN the Seven Years' War was brought to a close in February 1763, France was too exhausted by a long series of defeats to do otherwise than acquiesce in the terms proposed by England. Those terms would undoubtedly have been harder had Pitt still remained in the Cabinet to direct the negotiations; and Lord Bute and his colleagues incurred much abuse in England for not turning the recent brilliant victories to greater profit. Yet in France, though peace itself was welcome, the terms of the Treaty of Paris were looked upon as a deep national humiliation, and perhaps no one felt this more bitterly than the man who helped to negotiate it, viz. the Duc de Choiseul, for it meant the frustration of the hopes he had founded on the recently renewed Family Compact with Spain. Since his accession to power at the close of the year 1758, Choiseul had laboured with great patience and diplomacy to bring Spain into close union with France; this, after three years, he finally succeeded in doing by the famous Family Compact of August 1761, which was intended to unite the several houses of Bourbon in the closest alliance for mutual defence. In this treaty was a clause specially levelled against England (Article 8), and when that fact became known in this country, the English ministers, who in October 1761 had driven Pitt from office rather than allow him to declare war on Spain, were compelled to do so themselves in the following January 1762. It is well known that the results of that war were

everywhere disastrous to Spain and brought fresh losses to France, so that by the autumn of 1762 both countries were earnest in desiring peace, and a treaty was ratified at Paris in February 1763.

But though Choiseul looked upon peace as essential to his own country for the next few years, he had no thought of allowing the Treaty of Paris to be the final word between the two countries; the time gained by it was to be spent in nursing the resources of France in order to strike a fresh blow against England. He set to work to reorganise the army, to rebuild the navy, and encourage commerce; while abroad he endeavoured to strengthen French influence among foreign nations, and by so doing to bring about the comparative isolation of England. Spain and the Bourbon rulers in Italy were already pledged by the recent Family Compact to stand by France in almost any event. Austria still held by the policy of a French alliance, which had been begun by the Treaty of Versailles in 1756, and Choiseul thought it possible to strengthen this good feeling by suggesting the marriage of the Dauphin with a daughter of Maria Theresa. Frederic the Great, deeply offended with England for rushing so hastily into peace, was no longer so averse as formerly from a friendly understanding with France. Finally, by a liberal disbursement of French gold among the Diet of Sweden, Choiseul hoped to avert that which he always most dreaded, viz. an alliance of the Northern nations in which England would hold a predominating influence. As he himself stated in a memoir addressed to Louis XV. in 1770, shortly before his fall: 'The Southern Alliance being thus firmly established for France, it was necessary in order to preserve peace, to prevent the formation of a Northern one in favour of England; for it would be a moral impossibility for Europe, divided thus into two great alliances, to preserve peace for very long.'[1]

The French navy was in a deplorable condition at the

[1] *Mémoires of the Duc de Choiseul*, printed at Chanteloup.

close of the late war; it mustered only forty-four ships of the line and ten frigates, and of these more than half were unseaworthy. By 1765 Choiseul was able to inform the King that there were already sixty-three ships of the line and thirty-one frigates, and he hoped in 1769 to have eighty-four ships of the line and forty frigates, all fully manned and seaworthy.[1] In 1762 (according to the same mémoire) the arsenals were empty, and there were no guns to give out to the troops had the army met with any considerable reverse. The artillery returned from Germany destitute of gun-carriages, and there was not even timber in the arsenals with which to replace them; yet energetic steps were being taken to repair all these deficiencies, and by 1768 Choiseul hoped that the worst would be overcome. Similarly the fortifications and harbours, which in 1763 were crumbling to ruins, had been taken in hand; Brest, Toulon, and Valenciennes, which during the war could have offered no resistance, would, according to Choiseul's estimate, by 1767, or 1768 at the latest, be in a state of thorough defence.

It is clear from these statements that Choiseul anticipated, within ten years of the late peace, being in a position once more to take the offensive; and this is precisely the information the English Ministry received, from one who had been accustomed for years to send them secret intelligence from the French court. This anonymous informer, whose letters in cypher reached Whitehall through George Cressener, the English representative at Cologne, in a long and interesting communication, dated January 5, 1767, wrote as follows:

'I am persuaded the King sincerely wishes peace, and that the plans formed by the Duc de Choiseul, and the steps taken in consequence, require his avoiding a war for a long time. Ships are built and building, to make a very formidable navy; but there are not sailors to man sixty ships of the line, and many of them are only boatmen. As commerce increases it will make sailors, but even that is a work of time; so that everything contributes to oblige and make desirable the continuance

[1] *Mémoire justificatif présenté au Roi par Choiseul en* 1765.

of peace, as necessary to France and to him. In some years, when the debts are diminished, it is certain subsidies will be granted to such Courts as may be of most use; at present the augmentation of the fleet is the chief object. If Spain acts in concert with this Court, it is computed the combined fleets in a very few years will be stronger than the English fleet. . . . His (*i.e.* Choiseul's) influence at the court of Spain is great and very probably will last as long as the King of Spain lives, so your court must look on France and Spain as one Crown. I have some reason to believe the present plan is to obtain a superiority at sea and to avoid a war till that is done; some extraordinary event may make him deviate from this, otherwise by choice the peace will last at least nine years. If the commerce in that time increases as much as he hopes, there will then be such a number of sailors as will enable him to execute whatever he has in view.'

There can be little doubt that the plans which Choiseul had in view, as soon as the resources of France would enable him once more to take the offensive, were to make a direct and sudden attack upon England. This was a scheme which from its very nature would strongly appeal to the brilliant French statesman, but there was also much sound policy to recommend it. France had not recovered sufficiently to contend with England in a long drawn out war; neither her finances nor her military resources were equal to a sustained effort; but in a short and vigorous attack upon her neighbour, there lay some possibility of success. Choiseul was, of course, familiar with the details of previous expeditions against England, particularly with the unfortunate attempt of his predecessors in office in the years 1744 and 1745, but he held no high opinion of their tactics. He believed, a point which they had failed to grasp, that the only effectual way to attack England was to strike at London; if once the capital lay at the mercy of a hostile army, the invaders, he thought, would be able to dictate their own terms.

With these thoughts in view, Choiseul caused, in the year 1767, a thorough survey to be made of all the ports along the northern coast of France, to ascertain their exact

condition, and the number of ships they were capable of harbouring; and in the same year he started the far more delicate undertaking of examining the southern coast of England with a view to a descent on her shores.

The interesting series of secret memoirs on this subject, which were compiled by various French officers, in pursuance of Choiseul's instructions, shed a considerable light on the Duke's ambitions at that period, and help to explain his tortuous policy towards England. Most of these memoirs were by some means abstracted from the French Ministry of War a few years after Choiseul's downfall in 1770, and found their way into the hands of the first Lord Chatham. They are now among the Pitt Papers (Chatham MSS., Vol. 86), which are deposited by their owner at the Public Record Office.[1]

The first of these memoirs (all of which are in French) is entitled 'Mémoires Militaires faits par ordre du Ministre, par M. Grant de Blairfindy, Colonel des Troupes Légères. Année 1767,' and covers 110 folio pages, in manuscript.

Colonel Grant of Blairfindy, the author of this and several of the subsequent papers, was one of the numerous Scotchmen who, in the eighteenth century, took service in France. His knowledge of English would make him, of course, peculiarly fitted for the mission with which Choiseul entrusted him. The instructions he received were, to visit the south coast of England, examine all the best possible places for a debarkation, and further, ascertain the nature of the country which lay between the sea coast and London.

Without any preliminary Colonel Grant's memoir opens with a short description of Kent, giving the number of hundreds, parishes, houses, etc.; he notes that everywhere there is great abundance of forage, grain and cattle, while the size and strength of the English horses is specially dwelt upon. Deal, eight miles from Dover, he judged to

[1] The existence of these memoirs has of course long been known to historians, probably owing to the mention made by them, so far back as 1840, by Lord Stanhope, who had access to the Chatham collection.

be a suitable place for landing, the country there being flat, which would enable the smaller craft to approach right up to the shore, while the larger vessels of the fleet would be able to come in sufficiently close to protect the debarkation of the troops. There were three inferior castles, he states, along this coast, viz. Deal, Walmer, and Sandown, which could be easily taken by assault; they were built by Henry VIII. and were merely platforms carrying from eight to ten cannon each. Colonel Grant dwells at some length on the means of transporting the invading army. He pours much scorn on the flat-bottomed boats which had been prepared for the expedition of 1758. They would never have kept afloat, he says, and even the English, unprepared as they were for an attack, made fun of them. In their place he advised assembling the fishing and small merchant vessels which could be found on the coasts of Brittany, Normandy, and Picardy. These were excellent sailing craft and could go anywhere. They were capable of carrying one hundred, and many of them even two hundred, soldiers.

Dieppe had more than 150 of these boats, of which 80 were of seventy-five to eighty tons. Two hundred soldiers could be put on each of these. St. Valéry en Caux had 30 such boats; Fécamp 20. These three places could furnish passage for 28,000 men, and from Dunkerque to Honfleur there were enough boats to carry 80,000 men.

These vessels could be assembled quietly and without exciting comment into the ports of Boulogne, Ambleteuse, Andrecelle, Warigrelle, Wissan, Sangate and Calais. The troops should be distributed in the interior at a day's march from these points, so that they could embark the moment of their arrival. A convoy of twenty ships of the line, with twelve frigates and forty corvettes, would be needed to guard the passage of the troops.

Colonel Grant then enters into details of the number of troops necessary for the invading army, with their equipment and baggage. Only the light troops, he thought, should

embark with horses; this would be necessary to enable them to push detachments at once into the country, and collect the number of horses, cattle, carts, and provisions, etc., which the army would need. In the neighbourhood of Deal alone, Colonel Grant cites the names of nine villages[1] which he describes as rich, well peopled, and amply supplied with horses and carts, and everything an army could need, all of which could be collected in five hours' time.

With regard to any resistance which might be met with from the inhabitants, Colonel Grant made very light of it; they are a soft race, he says (*un peuple mou*); absolutely ignorant of the use of arms, who would submit without any resistance. All that would be necessary to gain their good will, he adds, would be to issue a proclamation, saying no harm was intended to the people; and further, if it were stated that all goods brought to the army would be paid for in cash, and at five per cent above ordinary prices, he felt assured that the army would want for nothing and the people soon be entirely devoted to the French!

More than once Colonel Grant and other writers recur to the statement that since, in the last war, the English seized all the French vessels before making an open declaration of war, it would only be a fair reprisal to land on them suddenly in time of peace.

The largest number of troops the English could muster from every part of England and Scotland, Colonel Grant estimated as under twenty-four thousand men, and even these could not all be assembled together, as there were places like Plymouth, Portsmouth, Chatham, Spithead, Sheerness, and Scotland, which would never be left ungarrisoned. To demonstrate this he drew up two interesting tables, giving the strength and disposition of the British forces.

Before resuming his memoir, Colonel Grant, with a discursiveness which adds a good deal to the interest of

[1] Sheldon, Norburn, Upper Deal, Mongeham, Ripple, Walmer, Sutton, Ringswould, Oxney.

his writings, turns aside to make some reflections on the French army; why, he asks, would it not be possible to do something to accustom the French soldiers more to the sea? For instance, when regiments are changing garrison, instead of making long marches from one end of the kingdom to the other, why could not they be sent round the coast in transport ships; it would save much expense to the King; the troops would become familiar with the sea, they would learn to embark and disembark quickly; the English could not take umbrage at it, and then, one fine day, one could make a descent on their shores! ("et quelque beau matin on pourroit arriver chés eux").

Resuming his plan of invasion, and assuming that the French army had been safely landed at Deal, with Walmer, Sandown, and Dover as a base, Colonel Grant then detailed the route which the army, marching in two columns, would have to take to reach the Medway and then the Thames, with the ultimate end of marching on London. Step by step the name of every town and village and the respective distances are set down, on the route from Dover to Rochester. The roads are described everywhere as very good, though often hilly; the country rich; the obstacles to be feared very few, save those arising from the nature of the land, the division of the country by hedges and banks making the use of cavalry practically impossible.

For provisions the writer advised establishing three main depots at Sandwich, Canterbury, and Rochester or Chatham. In the neighbourhood of Sandwich he gave a list of 117 villages, which he thought capable of easily furnishing 750,000 rations of hay and oats; 2000 horses, 4000 oxen, and 500 vehicles, while still leaving some for the people's own use.

Around Canterbury he named 113 villages, and round Rochester 147, from which similar supplies might be drawn; and he estimated that Kent alone would be able to furnish 3,890,000 rations of forage, 10,790 horses, 21,000 oxen, 3400 vehicles, and this only from places which he himself

had reconnoitred ; but it would be possible to draw supplies from Sussex, Surrey, and Middlesex.

Flour would be more difficult to find, and it would be necessary, he thought, to supply the army with sufficient to last it a month until provision could be made to collect it. Owing to the large quantities exported, it was always difficult to obtain a large supply of flour in England. (Appendix I.)

Colonel Grant then gave a list of the English militia regiments (Appendix II), to which he added a description far from complimentary. There were 52 battalions in all, he said, and each battalion should consist of 300 men, but none were ever complete. They assembled once a year for so-called exercises ; the arms of each battalion were deposited with the sheriff of the province. They are the worst troops imaginable, he says ; the officers were drawn from the local gentry, who had never seen service and had no idea of war ; nothing was more ludicrous than to see them under arms ; the trouble they had before being able to form themselves three deep. 'I have seen them,' Colonel Grant declares, 'an hour and a half before they could achieve it ; and no sooner did they try to advance than they were at once twelve or even more deep, like a sort of whirlwind round their standard ; so one can picture the confusion there would be, were a volley sent into their midst.' The time for these exercises is passed in *fêtes* and feasting, and after a month or six weeks every man returns home as ignorant as he started. In fact, anything less formidable than these troops cannot be imagined ; 4000 French grenadiers, led by an ordinary officer, could beat all the militia of England.

Resuming his narrative, Colonel Grant entered into some details as to the operations which would be necessary to secure Chatham and Sheerness, and then with the same exact description of camping grounds and distances, brings the invading army to Blackheath, where he thought it probable the decisive battle with the English would have

to be fought. Blackheath he describes as a splendid plain, capable of holding 100,000 men; it was here, he reminds his readers, that Cromwell beat the army of Charles I. The actual disposition of the troops would of course have to rest with the general in command, but on the whole the ground would be more favourable to the French than to the English, for the heights above Deptford and close to Greenwich Park would offer a very advantageous place for the French cannon. In the event of the French infantry being victorious, the cavalry should be kept ready in reserve to press the retreat very hotly, so that the English might be cut off before they had time to pass over London and Westminster Bridges; for it could be assumed that the English would retreat into Middlesex, since it was from that quarter that succour would come to them from Scotland.

This, the first portion of his memoir, Colonel Grant concluded by assuring his superiors that he had put down nothing at hazard, but had himself verified and examined everything stated, with the greatest exactitude; and that far from trying to minimise the obstacles, he had on the contrary rather made it a rule to augment them.

In the spring of the following year, 1768, Colonel Grant once more visited our shores, this time with a view of reconnoitring the coast of Sussex. On his return he added another section to his memoir, which he prefaced by a lively sketch of the condition of affairs as he observed them in England. No time, he asserts, could be more favourable for an invasion than the present moment of writing, *i.e.* May 27, 1768:

'Everything there is in the greatest confusion owing to the turbulence of the people, which is occasioned by one man in particular, called Wilkes. Both the King and all the leading men feel themselves in the greatest insecurity; one hears nothing but cries of "Long live Wilkes and Liberty" in the streets; and as this man is now in prison, where he gave himself up of his own accord, they have even cried in the presence of the King, "Wilkes's pardon, or no King" ("pardon pour Wilkes, ou pas de Roi"). Moreover neither the Scotch nor

English can tolerate each other at this moment; in Scotland the populace goes about with a straw man stuck at the end of a long pole; this represents Wilkes, which they finally hang and burn on a scaffold, and throw the ashes into the air. There is no leading man in the English ministry; the King is timid and his cabinet weak. Nothing would be easier for a firm man than to instil order into this rabble, but no one dares show this firmness, the King least of all, because he is told that it is contrary to the laws of Britain to coerce the people by arms.'

This second part of the treatise is fully as long as the first, and there is yet a third section, dealing with Hampshire and Surrey. Finally Colonel Grant closes his work with a brief account of Essex, to show the advantage which might be obtained from shipping a small detachment of four or five thousand men from either Ostend or Dunkerque, which could descend near Maldon, while the main body of the French army landed in Sussex or Kent. This contingent would follow the road through Chelmsford and Brentwood, and, after having sent a small force to capture Tilbury, would be ready to co-operate in the general attack on London. The county of Essex is described as very abundant and the roads everywhere magnificent. The advantages of this march, Colonel Grant thought, would be three-fold: firstly, because it would cut off the enemies' retreat; secondly, it would cut off their communication with the north; lastly, by the loss of Tilbury and Gravesend, they would have no resources left on the Thames.

The second document among these memoirs is by the same author, Grant of Blairfindy. It is a short essay (six folio pages), entitled 'Facilités qu'il y a de faire une descente en Angleterre demonstrées.' It is of slight interest, save for the criticisms the author makes on the abortive invasion of 1744.

The third document, though short, has a very real interest, for it brings us in touch with Choiseul himself. It is headed: 'Instructions pour le Sr. de Beville, Lt. Col. de Dragons, chargé de faire une reconnaissance en Angleterre,' and is

dated August 19, 1768, and bears Choiseul's name at the bottom. Apparently this is a copy of the original instructions, as neither the text nor the signature is in Choiseul's hand.

Beginning in the somewhat florid style in vogue in the eighteenth century, the Duke declares that His Majesty King Louis XV.'s love of peace is too well known to be doubted; yet unfortunately previous experience of the country most to be feared by France (meaning, of course, England) has convinced them that that country is not guided by such moderate and just principles, and therefore before she can give fresh proofs of her immoderate ambition, it is only prudent to consider if there are not means of checking it. All through the last war there was constant talk of a descent upon England; on several occasions preparations were made which seemed to announce that the project had been determined upon; but it always seemed, from the dispositions made, that no one had any exact knowledge of the means of carrying it out; above all, people were totally ignorant which coast to make for, and the nature of the land in which they would have to operate, after a successful landing.

After saying that it seemed most desirable to acquire this information, and that Colonel Beville had been selected for this delicate mission, from his known zeal and ability, Choiseul remarks that it is not inappropriate to recall to mind previous descents on England. Caesar, who made the first descents of which we have any knowledge, debarked on the south coast; so did the generals Plautius and Agricola in ancient times. A more recent example is that of the Saxons in 449, who descended on the Isle of Thanet, close to the mouth of the Thames. In 1066 William the Conqueror made a descent at Pevensey, near Hastings, on the coast of Sussex. The famous Spanish Armada in 1588 was to have sailed directly for the Thames; finally William III., of the House of Orange, debarked at Torbay in 1688.

All these examples prove sufficiently two things: first, that it is possible to make a descent on England; and secondly, that nearly every invader has preferred the south coast. It is therefore on the stretch of country from the mouth of the Thames, right away to the coast of Cornwall, that one should fix one's attention.

In the mass of memoirs already written on the subject, Choiseul remarks, some writers have favoured the mouth of the Thames, with the descent at Tilbury; others have preferred the coast of Sussex, as being nearer Normandy and Brittany. It is for Colonel Beville to examine these two theories and to determine the locality most favourable for debarkation. That being settled, the next thing is to select a bay in the neighbourhood, where the whole fleet may lie in security.

These two preliminaries being secured, the next matter of importance is to reconnoitre some large town not far removed from the coast, of which to make a depot for provisions, to assure the proper victualling of the army under all circumstances. In a rich and untried country like England, provisions should be ample, but it should be borne in mind that in the panic following an invasion the inhabitants usually carry off their cattle and as much grain and other means of subsistence as possible, thus greatly diminishing the resources which would be procurable in ordinary times.

In an invasion such as the one proposed, the point of greatest importance is to act with swiftness, not only against the capital but also on the more considerable ports which line the coast; it is therefore essential to reconnoitre carefully the roads leading to these different ports; to observe the best places to attack and to hold, on these routes; the rivers to be crossed and the camps that could be used; in short, the means of keeping up communication between the different corps which would have to be detached for these expeditions.

It is thought that the ports of Plymouth and Portsmouth

and the magazines at Chatham, as well as the town of Dover, are not at present too well fortified, and that it is only the castle of the latter place which could make any resistance; these are points to be verified. It would also be well to follow the course of the Thames, at least from Windsor to the mouth, so as to know both banks, with the different places upon them; also the best places for crossing.

Choiseul adds a warning that, 'in view of the great attention paid in England to the movements of all strangers and particularly Frenchmen,' Colonel Beville must not be caught with any drawings or plans in his possession. Ordinary maps of the country, however, would not cause suspicion, and would enable him to draw up the memoir which he is expected to furnish on his return.

Colonel Beville's instructions are signed August 19, and on September 7, 1768, he sailed for England, where he remained a little over two months. He divides his memoir into two parts: the first gives the daily itinerary of his journey through England, with a description of the country; in the second he discusses the best method for an invasion.

Though less entertaining as a writer than Colonel Grant, his memoir is none the less interesting from the extreme accuracy with which he sets down everything that he saw, and many of his descriptions of the country would hold good at the present day. During his seven weeks' sojourn in England he was travelling continuously, only making a halt of two or three days at the most important places.

Leaving Calais at eight o'clock in the morning, with a south-west wind, the pacquet boat, in mid-channel, directed its course towards the South Foreland; then keeping the land on their right and steering by the belfry of the little hamlet of Westley, which could be seen on the top of the Downs somewhat inland, they coasted along till they reached Dover.

Giving only a short time to Dover, which he left for a more thorough examination on his return, he set out through Canterbury and Rochester for London, where he also only

made a very short stay. He devotes only a few lines to the capital, giving the number of troops quartered there, and mentioning that there are three stone bridges over the Thames, on one of which, Blackfriars, the workmen were still employed. Leaving London by the Portsmouth road he then set out for the west of England, going through Kingston and Staines to Windsor, and thence through Maidenhead and Henley to Oxford. From Oxford he travelled through Woodstock, Gloucester, and Bristol; and from there he turned south to visit Bath and Wells; then on through Bridgwater and Taunton, and crossing into Devonshire by some lonely moorland roads, he reached Tiverton and Barnstaple, the westernmost point of his journey. From Barnstaple he went due south, by Okehampton, to Plymouth, to the description of which he devoted a considerable space, going into the relative positions of the port, the citadel, and the dockyards at some length. He looked upon Plymouth as quite inaccessible from the sea, owing to the forts and batteries defending it, as well as the danger of the navigation. There was also, he said, a squadron of six men-of-war, always ready to sail at the first order, besides other vessels which were dismasted and ranged in the stream one behind the other. Their rigging and armaments were deposited in the magazines in the dockyard, but nevertheless, it would, in his opinion, take very little time to arm and equip these ships. Inside the port, Colonel Beville states that he counted thirty-five ships, of which the smallest could carry fifty cannon. The French vessels, the *Téméraire* and the *Maréchal de Belle Isle* were among them; also the *Royal George*, a splendid ship, pierced for 112 pieces of cannon, which had been quite recently repaired.

Leaving Plymouth on September 27, Colonel Beville once more resumed his journey and travelled through Exeter, Exmouth, Weymouth, Salisbury, and Southampton to Portsmouth, which he described as the most considerable port in England, and like Plymouth, quite impossible to take from the sea. Men-of-war were always kept there

ready afloat; he himself counted fifty, including frigates; among the latter was the *Great Britain*, a superb ship, carrying 100 cannon and quite recently repaired. Possibly among these ships would be some old hulks unfit for service, but six men-of-war were kept always ready to put to sea, and the rest were moored in the stream one behind the other, as shown in the plan which accompanied the memoir.

The dockyards of Portsmouth, Colonel Beville described as the most important there were in England; it was here the strongest armaments were made; and when the enlargements were completed, which were being carried out at the time of his visit, it would be then possible to repair there twenty ships at a time.

Leaving Portsmouth on October 3, and journeying still eastward, Colonel Beville travelled through Chichester, Arundel, Littlehampton, Brighton, Newhaven, Eastbourne, Beachy Head, and Pevensey, which latter place he thought very suitable for landing, particularly as it was absolutely without defence.

From Pevensey he went to Bexhill and Hastings, and there leaving the coast, he struck northwards through Battle, into the Tunbridge road, and so once more reached London.

With London for his headquarters he then made excursions into Surrey, Sussex, and Essex, to reconnoitre the roads and country, and here in Essex, as indeed on nearly every occasion that offered, he criticised adversely Colonel Grant's scheme of landing a force at Maldon; declaring that the marine charts indicate so many sand banks that he doubted if it could be effectively accomplished.

Continuing his sojourn in London, he devoted some time to examining the heights of Hampstead and Highgate; the bridges over the Thames at Kew and Putney; and next, Greenwich Hospital, the docks at Woolwich and Deptford, and, finally, Woolwich Arsenal.

In this arsenal, he said, all the brass cannon were founded, and the iron cannon, which came for the most part from

Scotland, were tested. He saw a great number of them waiting to be refounded, not only English, but many French and Spanish; several, among others, which had been captured at Havana, and which were all indented by bullets.

The docks of Woolwich he described as not large, but a good many frigates were built there, though only a few ships of the line. The docks were surrounded on the side of the town by a brick wall, and strangers were not admitted; 'but,' Colonel Beville adds,

'from the Churchyard, which is a little raised, one can see over the wall of the enclosure, there being only the street between. There was at that time on the stocks a ship of ninety cannon, and one of sixty, on which it looked as if no work had been done for some time. Also on the river were two vessels of sixty cannon each, quite new, or else newly repaired.'

Having examined everything that he deemed of importance round the capital, Colonel Beville took his departure from London on October 28, and, travelling by Maidstone and Cranbrook, reached the coast near Rye. Thence he worked his way eastward, giving special attention to the ports and possible landing-places. In this way he passed through New Romney, Dymchurch, Hythe, Folkestone, and so back to Dover; having thus made a complete survey of the south coast from Plymouth to Dover.

The last morning in England was devoted to making a thorough survey of Dover Castle, and then, setting sail at one o'clock in the afternoon, he reached Calais at four having, as he tells us, the wind behind him.

Besides the itinerary of his journey, Colonel Beville carried back twenty plans of the more important places he had seen, which he had drawn up from memory on the day of visiting each place. These plans, which are most carefully finished, comprise such places as Dover, Rochester, and Chatham, the mouths of the rivers on the Bristol Channel, Plymouth, Southampton, and Portsmouth, and nearly every coast town of importance in the south; and

such inland places as the Tower of London and Windsor Castle. Further he took back the most recent map of England obtainable, which was one published by John Rocque, in the Strand, in 1768.

In pursuance of his orders Colonel Beville drew up a second paper on his return, entitled 'Reflections on the reconnaissance made in England in September and October 1768.' In this he discussed various plans of invasion at considerable length, but for himself most favoured a descent near Portsmouth; for he held that the greatest harm that could be done to the English 'is to destroy their navy, and that this, therefore, should be the object of the expedition.' After the destruction of the dockyards at Portsmouth, he advised that the army should march straight on London, but instead of attacking from the south as suggested by Colonel Grant, he thought that the army, in three columns, should cross the Thames at Hampton Court, Kingston, and Kew, and gain the heights of Hampstead and Highgate.

In summarising his conclusions he says it should be noted that the southern part of England is in general a difficult country in which to make war, for besides being very hilly, it is generally much cut up, both in the plains and on the hills, by hedges and ditches; it is a country where cavalry would be of little use, and where very few would be wanted; but on the whole this would be an advantage, for of all troops they are the most difficult to transport.

The Duc de Choiseul evidently thought sufficiently well of Colonel Beville's judgment to consult him again, for a year later he put Colonel Grant's memoir into his hands, with instructions to prepare a criticism upon it. This criticism Colonel Beville delivered to the Duke on April 7, 1770; it extends over sixty closely-written pages, and in it the writer very drastically criticises his brother officer's plans and inferences, though never calling into question the accuracy of his statements.

This document is followed by one of a similar character

which is a criticism of both Colonel Grant's and Colonel Beville's works. It is a very outspoken essay and spares neither officer, but points out that it is in theories and not in facts that the two men differ. The main objection the writer offers to both schemes is that neither takes sufficiently into account the possibility of the English attacking the invading army within a short time of its landing, and before it would have had time to become sufficiently organised to resist an attack.

This treatise is anonymous and nowhere does it offer any clue as to the identity of the writer; but there is nothing inherently impossible in the supposition that it was written by Choiseul himself. In early years he had seen much active service in the war of the Austrian Succession, and had fought with distinction at the battle of Dettingen; and all through life he maintained a keen interest in military affairs, as was shown by the reforms that he instituted in the French army soon after coming into power.

However this may be, the writer of this treatise concludes his remarks by saying that secrecy is the one essential means of success in a scheme of this sort, and the object of the expedition must be the conquest of *all* England, and to put it out of the power of the English nation ever again to undertake anything against France or any other power: a sentiment entirely in accordance with Choiseul's views.

This paper concludes the series of memoirs for whose origin Choiseul was directly responsible; in December of the same year, 1770, he was thrown from power. As his fall, however, came at a most opportune juncture for England, and probably saved us a war with both Spain and France, it may be well briefly to enter into the events which led up to it.

It will be remembered that in the summer of 1770, in a time of peace, Spain ventured to seize one of the Falkland Islands, in which England claimed a prior right. The

Spanish Governor of Buenos Ayres, acting under orders from Madrid, not only poured an armed force into Port Egmont and drove out the English, but, to ensure his own message being the first to reach Europe, actually ventured to remove the rudder of a British war-ship and detained her in those waters for twenty days. There was an outburst of indignation when the facts became known in England during the second week in September, and Lord North's ministry promptly sent an ultimatum to Spain demanding the evacuation of the island and an apology for the insult, Grimaldi, the Spanish Prime Minister, would return no satisfactory reply; for long he refused the apology and denied England's right over the island. All through the crisis, which lasted over three months, Choiseul acted a part of considerable duplicity towards England.

His despatches are full of conventional phrases expressing a desire for peace; yet he never took the only real means of securing it, namely, that of telling Spain that France would not join her in a war she considered unjustified; on the contrary, he always promised co-operation. As far as possible he kept the negotiations with Spain and England in his own hands, using all his great diplomatic skill to obscure the issue, and place England in the wrong. The two main things to secure (he writes more than once to his ambassador in London) are, firstly, to delay the outbreak of war a few months, until the French fishermen have returned from the fisheries, and secondly, to secure that if war came it should, in the eyes of Europe, appear to come from the part of England.[1]

On this latter point he laid great stress. 'If war comes,' he wrote on December 3, to Francès, his ambassador at St. James's, 'it will be necessary to do some act which will put the English in the wrong; in which I tell you candidly, they will not be, when they say they have received a simple insult and demand a simple satisfaction, which

[1] Archives de la Min. des Aff. Etrang. Correspondance. Angleterre. No. 494, f. 2 *et seq.*

has been refused them.' 'I am inclined all the more to think that the English are right,' he says in the same letter, 'because if a parallel thing had happened to a French possession, I would have conducted myself in precisely the same way as the English ministry.'

Yet while holding this language to his own countryman, he was continually assuring the English ambassador that he failed to understand what it was the British ministers demanded, and why they would not accept the Spanish proposals.

All this while Choiseul was hurrying on secret preparations for war. Ships were being fitted out in all the French ports and troops were hurrying to the coast. When questioned on the matter, Choiseul denied that any unusual preparations were going forward. 'He received my question and representations in good humour,' writes Robert Walpole, the English ambassador at Versailles, who proved himself quite unequal to the difficulties of the position; 'and assured me upon the word of a man of honour that no orders were given to arm. I cannot, from any good authority and in contradiction to the assurances the Duc de Choiseul has given me, assert that any number of extraordinary ships are put into commission, or that any positive orders are yet given to prepare an armament.'[1] To which Lord Weymouth replied:

'I am sorry to find that our intelligence does not agree with that which you have transmitted. We are informed that carpenters, seamen, and fishermen have been sent from other parts of the coast to Brest, to fit out several ships of war. I cannot be too earnest in recommending vigilance on this head.'

In November Lord Harcourt superseded Walpole in Paris, and to the no small annoyance of ministers at home seems to have fallen, like his predecessor, under the charm of Choiseul's personality, and to have put every faith in his sincerity. Lord Weymouth thought fit to caution him:

[1] S. P. Foreign. France. 281. Oct. 17.

'Your Excellency will no doubt continue to hear with good humour these expressions of cordiality with which the French minister affects to open himself to you,' he wrote on November 28, and again in December: 'The very great military preparations they are making, and particularly the marching of such a considerable body of troops towards the coast, and to be commanded by the Duc of Choiseul's own brother, wears so unfavourable an aspect, that if before we had been inclined to believe the sincerity of their professions, the Duc of Choiseul must think us overburthened with credulity not to imagine such conduct must destroy every degree of confidence.' [1]

Three months passed in ceaseless negotiations which brought the dispute no nearer a settlement. Spain still delayed giving the apology demanded, and meanwhile she and France were arming rapidly. Lord North's govern-

[1] (S. P. For. France, 281, Nov. and Dec.) One explanation of the conduct of France and Spain at this juncture which should not be overlooked is that neither country found it possible to believe that England was sincere in her professions of peace; they thought she was simply making use of the occasion as a pretext for war. Only at the eleventh hour were they convinced of this error, and that by an incident which throws a curious light on the manners of the day. Francès, in a confidential letter to Choiseul of December 22, 1770, relates how Lord North had given him an appointment at nine o'clock at night, to receive his answer to an important despatch. There had been a dinner party to Lord Sandwich and other members of the Cabinet, where the wine had been circulating freely. 'In fact, Monseigneur,' Francès writes, 'I found Lord North at nine o'clock at night as drunk as an owl (ivre comme un fiacre), and I presume that all the members of the British cabinet were in as good condition as their chief. This circumstance in a little affair in which only the fate of three kingdoms was at stake, was in itself sufficiently interesting.'

Not having drunk so much as his Excellency (Francès continues), he profited by the occasion and the communicative disposition in which he found Lord North, to sound him on every point of interest, and was surprised to find the English Prime Minister uttering precisely the same sentiments in a state of complete drunkenness, as he had always done previously. Now when men, who are very drunk, Francès observes, preserve the same logic and sequence of ideas as they had when sober, it may be deduced that they are doing so from acquired habit, and that therefore they are speaking the truth. It was a fact, he added, that he had often experienced, though in circumstances a little less important than the present. (Archives des Affaires Étrangères. Correspondance. Angleterre. 494, f. 440.)

ment determined to submit to no more trifling; negotiations were broken off with Spain, and the English ambassador was recalled. War now seemed inevitable, and that it was only averted at the last moment was due to the intervention of a man whom not one of the three disputants had ever taken into their consideration.

Louis XV had a profound aversion from the thought of war; he feared a repetition of the disasters which in recent years had attended the French arms; he saw no way of meeting the expense of it without a serious curtailment of his own pleasures. But above everything he had the desire to lead a life of indolence and peace in his own court, and between the Duc de Choiseul and the new favourite Madame du Barry there was open war. Louis roused himself from his usual lethargy, and on December 23, 1770, unknown to his ministers, he wrote a letter with his own hand to the King of Spain. In it he said: 'My minister would have war, but I will not' (Coxe), and he gave Charles III to understand that he must go into this war alone. The following morning a *lettre de cachet* sent Choiseul into exile to his castle at Chanteloup, whence, though he survived the King, he never again emerged into active politics.

It was impossible for Spain to face a war with England alone; on receipt of the King's letter the Spanish ministers were just in time to recall the English ambassador, who was already some miles from Madrid; the English demands were acceded to, and all thought of war was at an end.

Whether, had Choiseul remained some months longer in power, England would have been faced with a combined attack upon her shores, must always remain a question for interesting speculation. Had the attack taken place, it would have found her army singularly unprepared for a sudden emergency.

Like his great rival Lord Chatham, Choiseul lived to see his plans adopted by the very men who had driven him from office; and for several years after his fall French

officers continued in a desultory manner to explore the English coast, though the definite purpose for which Choiseul had sent them was no longer kept in view. There are papers suggesting attacks on Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, and Grant of Blairfindy was commissioned to reconnoitre Ireland. But he had been reared in Choiseul's school and it is clear that his heart was not in the work.

'An enterprise against Ireland,' he says frankly, and with allusion perhaps to the exiled minister, 'would never enter into the thoughts of a great minister. When France wishes to invade England and takes her forces anywhere save against London she will infallibly fail, and her losses will infinitely surpass any uncertain, or at most, momentary successes which she may gain by attacking elsewhere. Never will the English be conquered except in London.'

The latest of these papers is dated 1773, and they must have been removed from the French War Office within a few years, since they were found among Lord Chatham's papers at the time of his death in 1778. The exact means by which they came into Chatham's hands is not known, but suspicion would seem to point to a confidential secretary of the Marquis de Monteynard in the War Office.[1] However this may be, we know that Chatham was always singularly successful in obtaining intelligence from foreign countries.

There is an anecdote in Lord Stanhope's 'Life of Pitt' (vol. iv. p. 84) which tells how Chatham was once asked by his brother-in-law to what circumstance he ascribed his successes in the Seven Years' War; and Chatham's reply was: 'To my obtaining accurate information respecting the places which I intended to attack.' William Pitt's comment on this, when repeated to him, was: 'Whatever may have been the case in my father's time, I found it very difficult to acquire such information.' This remark of Pitt's may of course be explained on the commonly accepted theory, that Lord Chatham was a far abler war-minister than his son, but it is possible also that there is

[1] Cal. H. O. Papers, 1773–75, No. 250.

another explanation, and that the difficulties of obtaining secret information of any sort from France were actually far harder in the time of the first Napoleon. Whatever the faults and the personal ambitions of the men who came into power with Napoleon, they were, with some exceptions, not men who sold their country; the old and corrupt system in which everyone round the French monarch had his price, if only foreign nations would pay it, was swept away with the Revolution. In all these memoirs dealing with the projected invasion of England, Choiseul and the other writers emphasise the fact again and again, that secrecy and celerity are the two essential factors of success; and secrecy and celerity were precisely the two things which, owing to the corruption of politics and the bankruptcy of the country, it was impossible then to secure.

APPENDIX I.

SANDWICH SERA FOURNI PAR LES ENDROITS SUIVANTS, SÇAVOIR

1. Wingham.
2. Minster.
3. Monktonstreet.
4. Margate.
5. Ramsgate.
6. Dandelion.
7. Guttridge.
8. Westgate.
9. Rumfield.
10. Northwood.
11. Upton.
12. Broadstairs.
13. Brompton.
14. West Dumpton.
15. East Dumpton.
16. Howling Lane.
17. Herson.
18. Newington.
19. Ossenden.
20. Manson.
21. Wayborow.
22. Neithercourt.
23. Cattlestreet.
24. Swinston Court.
25. Shockenden.
26. West North Down.
27. East North Down.
28. Battlehamgate.
29. Thorne.
30. Nashstreet.
31. Nashcourt.
32. Dorlock.
33. Richborough.
34. St. Lawrence.

35. Goulstone.
36. Wettenton.
37. East Street.
38. Woodnesborough.
39. Ringleston.
40. Peding.
41. Poulton.
42. Dean Court.
43. Bonnington.
44. Goodneston.
45. Chillenden.
46. Ham.
47. Updown.
48. Hickling.
49. Norburn.
50. Knowlton.
51. Nonington.
52. Mongeham.
53. Middle Deal.
54. Deal.
55. Upper Deal.
56. Ripple.
57. Sutton.
58. Walmer.
59. Ringswold.
60. Oxney.
61. Beare.
62. Westley.
63. Charlton.
64. Guston.
65. Pineham.
66. East Langdon.
67. Maidensoule.
68. Nopechesley.
69. Whitfield.
70. Dover.
71. Bruckland.
72. Hougham.
73. Folkestone.
74. Watton.
75. Hith.
76. Saldwood.
77. Newington of Folkestone.
78. Paddelsworth.
79. Hawking.
80. Alcham.
81. Chitton.
82. Bovington.
83. Swingfield.
84. Hode.
85. Smithall.
86. Selsted.
87. Denton.
88. Swanson.
89. Lyddon.
90. Shebertswold.
91. Waldershare.
92. Minakey.
93. West Turville.
94. Tilmerstone.
95. Stoneheap.
96. Houldstreet.
97. Freedwell.
98. Deanhill.
99. Barfreston.
100. Wimbingwould.
101. Robersole.
102. Breomhouse.
103. Foxhall.
104. Knowlton Court.
105. Knell.
106. Chequer.
107. Sheldon.
108. Sandown.
109. St. Lawrence.
110. Shatterling.
111. Grove.
112. Brook.
113. Staple.
114. Eastry.
115. Singlesome.
116. Martins Abby.
117. Aythorne.

LE MAGAZIN DE CANTERBURY SERA FOURNI PAR LES ENDROITS SUIVANTS, SÇAVOIR

1. Canterbury.
2. Birchington.
3. St. Nicholas Upperhale.
4. Monkton.
5. Ambrey.
6. Reculver.
7. Downbarton.
8. Plomptonbush.
9. Monktonstreet.
10. Stowrmouth.
11. Preston.
12. Elmston.
13. Tloden.
14. Upperwanderton.
15. Lowerwanderton.
16. Techam.
17. Littleborn.
18. Wickham.
19. Fordwich.
20. Stodmarsch.
21. Buckleborow.
22. Upstreet.
23. Chistelet.
24. Hearn.
25. Haw.
26. Beacon.
27. Harnton.
28. Whitstable.
29. Bostal.
30. Bleane.
31. Graveny.
32. Feversham.
33. Ludingham
34. Tencham.
35. Buckland.
36. Devington.
37. Preston.
38. Goodneston.
39. Hearnestreet.
40. Boughtonstreet.
41. Harbledown.
42. Tunford.
43. Thanington.
44. Milton Court.
45. Chartham.
46. Bowhatch.
47. Oldwifes Leese.
48. Selling.
49. Badlesmere Leese.
50. Clayfostle.
51. Leveland.
52. Throwley.
53. Sheldwich.
54. Witgate.
55. Esting.
56. Ospring.
57. Newnham.
58. Shorland.
59. Otterden.
60. Lencham.
61. Brogdale.
62. Ewell.
63. Houghbown.
64. Forde.
65. Sarre.
66. Tlackington.
67. Trapum.
68. Brumley
69. Winghamwell.
70. Bosington.
71. Addisham.
72. Garrington.
73. Bedksborne.
74. Netherhead.
75. Patricksborne.
76. Nackington.
77. Hepington.
78. Kenwell.

79. Chartton.
80. Kingston.
81. Barham.
82. Balmerstead.
83. Cockstone.
84. Elham.
85. Richborow.
86. Belleview.
87. Sellindgleese.
88. Stanford.
89. Monkshorton.
90. Stowdingcourt.
91. Elmsted.
92. Eveington.
93. Wye.
94. Lidingdame.
95. Kennington.
96. Asford.
97. Willesborough.
98. Ripton.
99. Chartlecon.
100. Shingleton.
101. Bilsington.
102. New Romney.
103. Smarden.
104. Frigmfostle.
105. Pimbleton.
106. Egerton.
107. Gouldwell.
108. Crantrooke.
109. Goudherst.
110. Tenderton.
111. Old Romney.
112. Guilford.
113. Lyd.

Avec encore vingt villages qui en dependent: tous ces endroits peuvent fournir 1,340,000 rations de fourage; 3800 chevaux; 7000 bœufs, et 900 chariots pour la première fourniture.

LE MAGAZIN DE ROCHESTER SERA FOURNI PAR LES ENDROITS CY APRÈS, SÇAVOIR

1. Rochester.
2. Chatham.
3. Westcourt.
4. Gillingham.
5. Otterham.
6. West Raynham.
7. Brazenose.
8. Baringrove.
9. Cusington.
10. Newington.
11. Milton Church.
12. Bobing Court.
13. Sittingborn.
14. Easthall.
15. Frognall.
16. Radfield.
17. Milton.
18. Tong.
19. Orchouse.
20. Grovehurst.
21. Colshell.
22. Hatston.
23. Kingsdown.
24. Hogshare.
25. Linsted.
26. Rodmersham.
27. Clackfield.
28. Tunstall.
29. Muston.
30. Bapchild.

31. Bickwore.
32. Bredgate.
33. Stockbury Court.
34. Stockburystreet.
35. Wormdell.
36. Hartlip.
37. Breach.
38. Wichling.
39. Wormsett.
40. Bedington.
41. Holingborne.
42. Thornham.
43. Delling.
44. Boxley.
45. Binbury.
46. Halling.
47. Wouldham.
48. Borcham.
49. Cosenton.
50. Guildstedstreet.
51. Lutton.
52. Capston.
53. Siliwham.
54. Danoway.
55. Birling.
56. Laborn et Castle.
57. Prestonhall.
58. Alington.
59. Cobham.
60. Maidstone.
61. Bromfield.
62. Laireborn.
63. Lencham.
64. Langley.
65. Laysted.
66. Hedcome.
67. Ilersfield.
68. Muttenden.
69. Hunton.
70. Linton.
71. Boughton.
72. Danestreet.
73. Farley.
74. Sutton.
75. Munchelsea.
76. Sondaystreet.
77. Otham.
78. Runham.
79. West Malling.
80. Bradborn.
81. Ditton.
82. East Malling.
83. Alington.
84. Ryarsh.
85. Trottiscliff.
86. Woogate.
87. Upperhelling.
88. Lowerhelling.
89. Wrotam.
90. Yaldham.
91. Igtham.
92. Plaxtoole.
93. Westpeckham.
94. Mereworth.
95. East peckham.
96. Oxenoath.
97. Tunbridge.
98. Gouldhill.
99. Greenstreet.
100. Padlingspound.
101. Twidal.
102. Bidborough.
103. Oldbounds.
104. Southborou.
105. Woodgate.
106. Sevenoke.
107. Dunton.
108. Westram.
109. Brasted.
110. Riverhead.
111. Bradborn.
112. St. Mary Cray.
113. Wea.
114. Bromley.

115. Luttingstone.
116. Shoram.
117. Chinckham.
118. Farningham.
119. Hockenden.
120. Southfleet.
121. Northfleet.
122. Wimblehall.
123. Gravesend.
124. Milton-Tilbury.
125. Cowley.
126. Ryestreet.
127. Eastbury.
128. Fenn.
129. Surland.
130. Allhallows.
131. Mammonds.
132. Silverstreet.
133. Neckstreet.
134. Chalkstreet.
135. Chalk.
136. East Chalk.
137. Pettycoat Lane.
138. Hogstreet.
139. West street.
140. Broadstreet.
141. Horstreet.
142. Barnstreet.
143. Dartford.
144. Wilmington.
145. Leusham.
146. Eltham.
147. Croydon.

Tous ces endroits ensemble peuvent fournir pour première fourniture 1,800,000 Rations de fourage, 4990 Chevaux, 10,000 Bœufs et 2000 Voitures.

RÉCAPITULATION DES ETABLISSEMENTS.

	Rations de fourage	Chevaux	Bœufs	Voitures
Sandwich . .	750,000	2,000	4,000	500
Canterbury .	1,340,000	3,800	7,000	900
Rochester . .	1,800,000	4,990	10,000	2,000
Total . .	3,890,000	10,790	21,000	3,400

On peut entendre ces Fournitures dans les comtés de Sussex, Surrey, et Middlesex, d'où on peut tirer des approvisionnements immenses de toutes espèces ; quoique avec cette fourniture que je ne mets qu'au plus bas de tous les endroits destinés à celle de chaque établissement, que j'ay reconnû par moi-même, nous aurions de quoi subsister jusqu'à ce que nous soyons maîtres de toute l'Angleterre.[1]

[1] The place-names in the above lists are printed here as given in the

APPENDIX II.

RÉGIMENTS DE MILICE

Noms des Regiments	Nombre de Bataillons	Noms des Regiments	Nombre de Bataillons
Wiltshire . .	1	Westmorland .	1
Dorsetshire . .	1	York East Riding	1
Devonshire . .	4	Northumberland .	1
Norfolk . .	2	Brecknockshire .	1
Kent . .	1	Durham . .	1
Richmondshire .	1	Bedfordshire .	1
Cleveland . .	1	Monmouthshire .	1
Somersetshire .	1	Cornwall . .	1
Surry . .	1	Hampshire Sud .	1
Warwickshire .	1	Rutlandshire .	1
Berkshire . .	1	Buckinghamshire .	1
Gloucestershire .	1	Leicestershire .	1
York West Riding	2	Denbighshire .	1
Hertfordshire .	1	Cumberland .	1
Suffolk . .	2	Lancashire . .	1
Huntingdonshire .	1	Glamorganshire .	1
Lincolnshire .	2	Gloucestershire Sud	1
Essex . . .	2	Carnarvonshire .	1
Cheshire . .	1	Middlesex West .	1
Carmarthenshire .	1	Middlesex East .	1
Flintshire . .	1	Westminster .	1
Pembrokeshire .	1		—
Hampshire Nord .	1	Total . .	52

MSS. and their identification has not been attempted to avoid undue expansion of the Text and Index. With a few exceptions these names can be easily identified in the Ordnance Maps and this identification will suggest the following conclusions: (1) That whilst the many forms are more or less correctly given, others (e.g. 'Howling Lane' for Hollicondane, Battleham for Bethlehem, Clayfostle for Clare's Forstal) are less intelligent. (2) That these names were taken down from verbal information. (3) That the order of the places indicates revision at different times. (4) That hamlets and farms figure here as well as 'villages.'

APPENDIX III.

VOICI UN ÉTAT EXACT DE TOUTES LES TROUPES SUR PIED ET À LA SOLDE BRITANNIQUE DANS LES QUATRE PARTIES DU MONDE

Garnisons ordinaires		Nombre d'hommes
	MAISON DU ROY	
Londres et Westminster	2 Regiments des Gardes à Cheval; compré chacun de 181 homs.	362
	2 Regiments des Grenadiers des Gardes à cheval, chac de 188 h.	354
	1 Regiment de Gardes à cheval composé de	319
Irlande	4 Regts. des chevaux Legers, composés chacun de 214 h.	856
Angleterre	3 Regts. des Gardes Dragons dont un de 345 homes et les autres de 231 chacun	807
Londres et Westminster	3 Regts. des Gardes à pied, dont le 1r composé de	1,649
	Le 2nd de	1,058
	Le 3me de	1,058
	Total de la maison du Roy.	6,463
Dont 7 en Irlande 1 en Ecosse 10 en Angleterre	18 Regts. de Dragons dont un de 345 h.; les autres de 231 chacun	4,272
Il y en a ordinairement 18 Battl. dans la Grd. Bretagne Les autres en Irland et les colonnies	72 Regts. d'Infanterie, dont le 1r est de 2 batl. les autres d'un seul, composé chacun de 500 hommes	36,500
Détachés dans toutes leurs possessions	Trois Batl. d'artillerie, composé chacun de 500 h.	1,500
Dans les 3 Royaumes	Invalides faisant service dans les Places	1,277
A Chatham, Spithead, Portsmouth, Shernesse et Plymouth	70 Compagnies de troupes Marines, faisant ensemble	4,500
	Total de toute l'armée	54,512
	RÉCAPITULATION	
	Infanterie de terre et de Mer	47,542
	Cavallerie de Gardes et Dragons	6,970
	Total de l'Armée Britannique dans les quatre parties du Monde	54,512

APPENDIX IV.

ÉTAT DES GARNISONS DE LA GRANDE BRETAGNE ET DE COMBIEN DE MILES ELLES SONT DISTANTES DE LONDRES

Le Royaume où elles sont	Noms des Garnisons	Leur distance de Londres
		Miles
Ecosse	Fort Auguste	540
	Fort George	
Ecosse	Fort William	570
Ecosse	Berwick et Holy Isle	341
Angleterre	Blackness	
	Carlshot	
	Carlisle	301¼
	Chatham	32
	Chester	181
	Cinque Ports Warden	70
	Dartmouth	204
Ecosse	Dumbarton	380
	Edinburgh	400
Angleterre	Gravesend et Tilbury	18
France	Guernsey	224
Angleterre	Hull	172
	Hurst	180
France	Jersey	248
Angleterre	Landguard Fort	
Ecosse	Isle de Man	400
Angleterre	St. Maws	
	Pendennis	
	Plymouth	215¾
	Portland	134
	Portsmouth	73⅓
	Scarborough	234
Angleterre	Scilly	318
	Sherness	50
	South Sea Castle	
Ecosse	Stirling	440
Angleterre	Tour de Londres	286
	Tynmouth	
	Upnor	
	Isle of Wight	76
	Windsor	26
	Yarmouth	122½
	Parc de St. James	

THE ESTATE BOOK OF HENRY DE BRAY OF HARLESTONE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

(1289–1340)

By Miss DOROTHY WILLIS, formerly of Newnham College, Cambridge

Read December 16, 1909

THE late Miss Mary Bateson examined this 'Estate Book' compiled by Henry de Bray of Harlestone, Northamptonshire, and in view of the fact that it was written by a layman of the late thirteenth century she considered that the rarity of such productions might give this compilation a distinct value amongst medieval economic sources.

The MS. is quite well known. Bridges and Baker, in their histories of Northamptonshire, quote largely from it, also Parker in his 'Churches of the Archdeaconry,' but no one has as yet treated it as a whole and important in itself. It is true that some sort of estate book was kept for every lord of a manor, either by a bailiff or clerk, and many such records have come down to us, but Henry de Bray's 'Estate Book' has this distinctive and special interest that the lord of the manor compiled it himself, partly from documents in his possession and partly from memory as can easily be seen. In consequence it is full of intimate touches and personal allusions which not only bring out the personality of the author but throw some light on the various elements of a medieval village which was probably typical of many places.

There are two MSS. written by Henry de Bray which are now both in the British Museum, one in the Cotton, the other in the Lansdowne Collection. In the Cotton MS. the first folio is missing and therefore the introductory remarks are lost, but from internal evidence it is clear that it was written after 1309. It contains a summary of Henry's

landed possessions, giving some account of how they were obtained and noting his relations with his overlords and tenants up to 1309, and his expenses from 1289 to 1309. It includes a short history of the world, lists of the kings and counties of England and of the churches near Harlestone. It is evident that several folios are missing from the end of the book, for Henry refers to folio number thirty-three, and the last folio of the MS. in its present condition is numbered twenty-six.

The Lansdowne MS. is complete in that there are no folios missing, and in a sense it is more than complete, for the blank spaces which Henry de Bray left have been filled in by his descendants. Henry wrote his introductory note in the following words :—

'In the year 1322 the fifty-second year of Henry de Bray who with his own hand writes this book, the same Henry arranged this present brief as evidence to his heirs ; that is (he has made) transcriptions of charters and memoranda arising from the time of the said Henry.' [1]

The MS. is clearly arranged with a rough index and was probably intended as a continuation to the Cotton MS., in spite of the fact that many deeds are transcribed in both books, though not at all in the same order. Is it too wild a conjecture to surmise that Henry had lost, or at any rate mislaid, his first MS. by the year 1322 and began writing the second MS. in consequence, and, as he had so much more information to record, he omitted such details as were irrelevant to his later transactions ? In the second MS. there is no list of his expenses from 1289 to 1309, nor of kings or counties, and some of the notes of his grandfather's agreements are omitted.

Henry's plan of compilation at first seems to be wholly unsystematic but it is possible to discover his method, bearing in mind that he does not in most cases consider his account of any purchase of land complete without giving the pedigrees of the present and former owners with the

[1] Lansdowne, f. 1*a*.

reasons for any previous transfers of the same land. He then transcribes his own deeds of purchase and the quit claims of any who had or who might claim rights in the same land. As an instance of Henry's exhaustive treatment of any subject, there are ten lengthy entries in connexion with the dowry of his grandmother, Isabella de Linley, which can be summarised as follows :—

(1) Quit-claim to Henry de Bray from his cousin Robert de Holecote of all his share in the dowry, which is specified. There are two copies of this, one in Latin and one in French.[1]

(2) Quit-claim to Henry de Bray and his overlord Hamo de Vieleston from the same Robert of the same share in the dowry.[2]

(3) Quit-claim to Henry from his spinster aunt Beatrice of her share in the dowry.[3]

(4) The same Beatrice's declaration that John Sebode is her attorney in this matter.[4]

(5) Duplicate quit-claim from Beatrice to Henry de Bray, made the day after her appointment of John Sebode as attorney.[5]

(6) Division of the remainder of the dowry between Henry de Bray who takes one half and his two married aunts Agnes le Ken and Isabella de Houghton, the two halves being carefully specified in detail.[6]

(7) A digression entitled 'Note for the heirs of Hamo de Vieleston concerning a strip of land contained in Henry de Bray's portion.'[7]

(8) Note on the Vieleston family.[8]

(9) Confirmation of the above exchange with topographical notes.[9]

(10) Settlement by one of the tenants of the land which was part of the dowry, on his daughter, with notes as to his descendants.[10]

[1] Lans. f. 38*b*; Cott. f. 15*a*.
[2] Lans. f. 39*b*; Cott. f. 16*a*.
[3] Lans. f. 39*b*; Cott. f. 16*a*.
[4] Lans. f. 46*a*; Cott. f. 16*a*.
[5] Lans. f. 40*b*; Cott. f. 16*b*.
[6] Lans. f. 40*b*; Cott. f. 17*a*.
[7] Lans. f. 42*a*.
[8] Lans. f. 42*b*.
[9] Lans. f. 42*b*; Cott. f. 16*b*.
[10] Lans. f. 63*c*.

The above ten entries deal with one of the minor concerns of Henry de Bray's life and they give a fair idea of the bewildering mass of information contained in the 'Estate Book,' from which it would appear that Henry was involved in more than thirty exchanges or purchases with nineteen different sets of people.

To return to the text of the MSS., they are both written in Latin with occasional lapses into curiously spelt French. The writing of both is very clear, but in the later MS. it is considerably larger and the letters are not so neatly formed, a circumstance which suggests failing eyesight.

The latest date mentioned by Henry de Bray is 1340 when he was seventy-one years of age.[1]

There is no peroration or valediction in either MS., and perhaps the writer's active life came to an end before he had concluded his appointed task. As his only child Alice married John Dyve[2] the 'Estate Book' no doubt became one of the muniments of that family, and the later additions to the book consist of deeds and pedigrees in connexion with it.

The name Henry de Bray appears fairly often in the public records, but it does not seem possible to connect many of the entries with the author of the 'Estate Book.' The most important man of the name was Master Henry de Bray, whose public life as escheator south of the Trent under Edward I. began in 1254. This great officer had some connexion with Harlestone, as in 1279, in company with Adam le Werrour, who appears as our author's stepfather six years later, he was attorney to John de Pateshull.[3]

Thirty-five years later, when his name occurs again in connexion with Harlestone, it is recorded in the 'Estate Book' that he was witness to an agreement made in 1315 between the community of the vill on the one hand, and Henry de Bray on the other. The community gave up all its rights in certain acres of land in exchange for Henry de Bray's rights of bull and bee in the common fields of

[1] Lans. f. 63*a*. [2] Lans. f. 1*a*. [3] Close R. 7 Ed. I. m. 10.

Harlestone.[1] It is difficult to account for Master Henry de Bray's appearance on this occasion except as a casual relation, as he must have been nearly eighty at the time and his official career had long since ended.

It may be noted that although Master Henry's career was by no means free from the grave charges of embezzlement and cruel extortion he was undoubtedly a man of great activity and mastery over business, which may well have been family traits inherited by the younger Henry, possibly through an avuncular relationship.

The other Henry de Brays of the neighbourhood were men whose rude habits must have disassociated them from Henry de Bray of Harlestone even if they were akin.

Between the years 1316 and 1320, whilst their namesake of Harlestone was working out a respectable career as a landowner, steward of the priory of St. Andrews, Northampton,[2] and even coming to London as witness in a case of demised land,[3] Henry de Bray of Charwelton,[4] Henry de Bray of Berchiston,[5] and Henry de Bray of Amynton [6] were being publicly complained of in the patent rolls as taking part in assaults with violence.

In 1323 our Henry de Bray of Harlestone was among the half-dozen good and legal men who asserted on their oath in reply to an inquisition *ad quod dampnum*, that the castle of Northampton was greatly in need of repair, and the items of repair and cost are all enumerated.[7] In the 'Estate Book' there is much evidence as to Henry's experience in building which will be brought forward below. It is possibly a tribute to his capacities in this direction that he should have had any part in this matter.

These few references in the public records may indicate that Henry was a man of merely local fame. His ceaseless

[1] Lans. f. 71*a*.

[2] Lans. f. 59*a*; Pat. 9 Ed. II. pt. ii. m. 18.

[3] Close R. 10 Ed. II. m. 5*d*.

[4] Pat. 10 Ed. II. pt. ii. m. 27*d*.

[5] Pat. 12 Ed. II. Pt. II. m. 25*d*.

[6] Pat. 9 Ed. II. Pt. I. m. 25*d*.

[7] Inquis. *a. q. d.* 16 Ed. II. 119.

activity can be best explained by giving some account of the way in which land was distributed in Harlestone.

In the 'Domesday Survey,' there are four entries relating to Harlestone, that is to say the land in the village was divided between four different estates.

The estates referred to are as follow :

(1) An estate of three teamlands, part of the royal manor of Upton, which was the chief vill of the hundred of Neubotlegrove.[1]

(2) An estate of two teamlands held as soke of the adjoining Peverel manor of Neubotle.[2]

(3) An estate of three teamlands held of the honour of Mortain by William de Cahanges of Dodford.[3]

(4) A small estate reckoned at only a quarter of a teamland also held of the honour of Mortain by Humfrey lord of Althorp.[4]

There is little difficulty in tracing the descent of these estates. At the date when the first MS. was compiled by Henry de Bray, that is probably about 1310, these estates had come to be known as follows :—

The serjeanty of Upton, which was held by Thomas de Chaunceus (Cancellis) of the king.[5]

The soke of Neubotle, which was held by William de Ferrers.

The fee of Dodford which was held by the co-heirs Roger de Lumley and Ralph de Bulmere as of the honour of Leicester.

The fee of Berkhamstead, the manor of Althorp being held of that honour by Hamo de Vieleston.[6]

The question is therefore which, if any, of these several estates were held by Henry de Bray in 1322 when he began writing the second MS. For information on this point we have his own statements.

Of the serjeanty of Upton Henry held by paternal

[1] Domesday Book, f. 219 *b*.
[2] Domesday Book, f. 225 *b*.
[3] Domesday Book, f. 223 *b*.
[4] Domesday Book, f. 223.
[5] Lans. f. 8*a* ; Cott. f. 11*b*.
[6] Lans. f. 42*b*.

inheritance three virgates and twenty-one acres in free socage of Nicholas de Chaunceus.[1] This was not the whole of that estate in Harlestone ; freeholders held one and a half virgates[2] and the abbot of St. James', Northampton, held a mill and meadow-land.[3]

Of the soke of Neubotle Henry had inherited one and a half virgates through his father,[4] one virgate and ten acres through his mother,[5] and obtained another virgate by purchase,[6] which were all held of Thomas de Staunton.

Of the remainder of the ten and a half virgates belonging to this soke, the abbot of St. James' held two and a quarter[7] and certain freeholders four and three-quarter virgates.[8]

In the fee of Dodford, under the honour of Leicester, Henry seems to have held no arable land, but he had some pasture rights to which he alludes as *capita herbagii* by ancient exchange between his ancestors and the ancestors of Roger de Lumley and Ralph de Bulmere.[9] Ten virgates of this fee were in demesne, one and a half were held by freeholders.

In the fee of Berkhamstead Henry held one virgate by paternal inheritance,[10] the abbot of St. James' held another virgate in this fee. Roger de Lumley held some land in it also, but the amount is not stated.[11]

Putting these data together, we see that the village was supposed to contain twenty-seven virgates altogether. Henry, in reckoning the number of virgates, also notes that the circumference of the vill of Harlestone is two and a quarter leagues, each league contains twelve furlongs, and each furlong forty perches, each perch sixteen feet according to the measure of a perch on the gable outside the chancel at Harlestone. The circumference of all the fields of Harlestone was seven and a half leagues and half a furlong.[12]

[1] Lans. f. 12*b*.
[2] Cott. f. 9*a*.
[3] Lans. f. 54*b*.
[4] Lans. ff. 1*b*–7*b*.
[5] Cott. f. 7*b*.
[6] Lans. f. 54*b*.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Lans. f. 55*b*.
[9] Lans. f. 36*b* ; Cott. f. 4*b*.
[10] Lans. f. 55*a*.
[11] Lans. f. 54*a*.
[12] Lans. f. 65*b*.

There is a marginal note in a cramped writing which may or may not be Henry de Bray's autograph. It contains a table of measures, and as these do not tally with those above, perhaps the note was added by one of the Dyve family. It runs as follows :

5 feet make a pace,

125 paces make a furlong.

If you give 1000 paces it makes eight furlongs, the double gives you a league.[1]

That is to say, sixteen furlongs make a league, whereas the previous table gives twelve furlongs to a league. The inconsistency may arise from the fact that two different Latin words are used to express a furlong, namely, *quadrantena* and *stadium*, and possibly these are not identical in meaning.

Of the twenty-seven virgates in Harlestone seven and a half were included in Henry de Bray's estate.

In the Lansdowne rental of 1329 Henry enumerates his tenants as twenty-four who held a hundred and ninety-seven acres, and thirteen who held half a virgate each.[2]

Throughout the 'Estate Book' the number of acres assigned to a virgate is variable, but the average comes out at sixty-six, and by that computation Henry's whole estate makes a total of five hundred and twenty-six acres, that is between seven and eight virgates. He received annually over and above his outgoing expenses 10*l*. 16*s*. 3½*d*. from his tenants, besides the services of eleven 'Bedrips,' and nineteen 'Hedrips,' one pound of pepper, and eight fowls.[3]

It is not very clear how much Henry paid out to his overlords, but it was at least 1*l*. 4*s*., probably more, in actual rent.[4] He did no service except that of suit at two courts. Henry took care to lease out all such portions of land as had services attached to them, so that these services were performed by his tenants to the capital lords.[5]

The suits which he owed were to the court of Newbotle

[1] Lans. f. 65*b*.
[2] Lans. f. 66*b*.
[3] Lans. f. 68*b*.
[4] Lans. f. 68*a*.
[5] Lans. f. 23*b* ; Cott. f. 20*a* ; Lans. ff. 68*a*–73*b*.

and to the court of Upton, where he represented four other tenants of that fee for which they paid him respectively 4*d.*, 3*d.*, and 1*d.* per annum.[1] His duty to do suit at the court of Berkhamstead had been delegated to a brother-in-law.[2]

At this time the normal qualifications for the status of a knight was a rent roll of 20*l.* per annum, and Henry's property only produced half that amount. It is evident that although he was a man of importance in his own village his position in the county was much the same as that of a well-to-do farmer of to-day.

A large part of the 'Estate Book' is taken up with the exposition of Henry's relations with his overlords, which seems to have been a subject of most absorbing interest to him. With Roger de Lumley and Ralph de Bulmere, who held the fee of Dodford, and with Hamo de Vieleston, who held the manor of Althorp, Henry seems to have been on good terms, but he inherited a bitter feud with Thomas de Staunton, lord of the estate in the soke of Newbotle,[3] as also with Hugh de Chaunceus, lord of Upton.

In the soke of Newbotle Henry's ancestor, Brixtanus d'Armenters, had held of William de Ferrers six messuages, eight cottages, four and a half virgates, and appurtenances, for four shillings per annum and the service of doing suit at the court of Newbotle.

Brixtanus' daughter Quena married when a minor without her guardian's consent and thus forfeited her lands, which were granted to William de Staunton. This William disposed of most of the land to the Thenerchebrays. Henry de Bray makes a characteristic note concerning this transaction. He says:

'This William did not wish to bind himself in the above deed by the clause of warranty, because he well knew that it (that is, the property) was the right of Henry de Bray, and for the same reason also he (that is, William) was willing to receive such a small sum in cash payment, namely half a mark.'[4]

[1] Lans. ff. 68*a*–73*b*.
[2] Lans. f. 17*b*.
[3] Lans. ff. 1*b*–7*b*; Cott. ff. 7*b*–8*b*.
[4] Lans. f. 31*b*.

This Henry de Bray was the writer's grandfather, who married Quena's daughter Emma and with his wife espoused her cause. He recovered part of the estate from Peter de Thenerchebray by a writ *de recto* in some year between 20 and 30 Henry III, and he also began a suit against Hugh and Clementia de Staunton respecting that part of their land which had belonged to Quena. This suit dragged on for years till Henry and his son John and also Hugh de Staunton had died. John's son, the writer of the 'Estate Book,' continued the suit against Thomas de Staunton and a compromise was effected in 1301. Thomas kept the land, but remitted three out of the four shillings rent per annum due from Henry.[1]

In 1328 Henry paid twenty shillings to get this rent of one shilling reduced to sixpence per annum. Three years later he paid four marks and ten shillings to reduce it still further to the nominal rent of one penny per annum with homage and fealty.

In 1338 Henry makes a note of doing homage to William de Staunton on the death of his father, and the Bray estate held of the de Stauntons is described as a capital messuage, two other messuages, one hundred acres of meadow and pasture, half a virgate and a quarter of land.[2] It is interesting to note that Henry made great efforts to reconstruct the estate as Quena had originally held it. He managed to recover the one piece of land that had remained in the possession of the Thenerchebrays, namely a garden called the 'Neweyard' which had descended to Joan Sebode.[3]

As regards Henry de Bray's portion of the fee of Upton there was considerable trouble during his minority. His own account of it is as follows :—

'Memorandum that Hugh de Cancellis, son of Sir John de Cancellis lord of Upton, seized the land of Henry, son of John de Bray in Harlestone after the death of the said John de Bray his father, the eighth day of July 1282, and kept all the land held of him in his own hands for nine years, unjustly because

[1] Lans. f. 31*a*. [2] Lans. f. 7*b*. [3] Lans. ff. 26*b*, 31*b*, 12*a*, 74*a*, 74*b*.

it was held by service of soke; and because the same Henry was under age, Maud his mother to whom his wardship rightly belonged purchased a writ of mort d'ancestor in the name of the said Henry against the said Hugh de Cancellis and on account of the absence of the justices assigned to take the assize, being John de Metingham and Elias de Bokyngham who did not come to these parts for four years, they compromised in the following manner. Henry was to hold his estate of five messuages and three virgates of land in free socage as of the manor of Upton without homage, for thirteen shillings a year and bedrip, that is six men for one day in the autumn with food; and suit at the court of Upton every three weeks; the proceeds of frank-pledge at Michaelmas to be halved between Henry and Hugh.'[1]

This agreement lasted until 1306, when Henry paid 20*l.* 10*s.* for an inquisition *ad quod dampnum* plus the compensation to Hugh for reducing his annual rent from thirteen shillings to ninepence.[2] The payment of such a large sum, at a time too when Henry was involved in heavy building expenses, is a sign of his prosperity, though an entry on another subject shows that it cannot have been so difficult to amass 20*l.* as might be supposed even for a villein. One Agnes le Megre made Ralph Burgess free and enfeoffed him of half a virgate and received from him 20*l.*[3]

In a compilation of this sort which contains so much extraneous information, some allusion to contemporary political events might be expected. The Scotch wars were in full swing when Henry de Bray was in the prime of life, and Northampton, which was four miles from his village, was not only in the track of armies marching northwards, but the Parliamentary writs show that with one exception Henry's overlords were summoned to Scotland on military service time after time. Henry, however, is utterly silent about the wars. His interest in public matters cannot have been very acute. It is only the rather lurid affairs of state that catch his attention as worthy of note, such as the execution of Piers Gaveston,[4] the hanging and quartering

[1] Lans. f. 8*a*; Cott. f. 10*a*.
[2] Lans. f. 9*a*; Cott. f. 10*b*.
[3] Lans. f. 35*b*.
[4] Lans. f. 64*b*.

of the Despensers,[1] the extinction of the order of Templars because it was heretical.[2]

There are few references, too, to the vexed question of the relations between the neighbouring abbeys and the village such as are carefully recorded in the Peterborough Register. Henry mentions, however, that the advowson of the church belonged to the Priory of Lenton by gift of William le Peverel.[3] In connexion with the advowson it is rather interesting to find from another source that, in 1329, when Thomas de Staunton claimed it against the Priory, preparations were made to decide the claim by the ancient form of trial by combat. Each party chose a champion and though these both appeared on the appointed day armed and ready for battle, in the meantime the conflicting parties had come to a verbal agreement. For the pleasure of the Court the two champions made a few passes of fence, but after they had played for two turns the Court rose.[4]

Henry de Bray gives an account of his grandfather's and father's quarrel with the abbot of St. James', Northampton, who held six and a quarter virgates in Harlestone. The quarrel was a typical one.[5] Grandfather Henry and his son John had laid violent hands on a monk; they had also built a mound which was to the prejudice, injury, and inconvenience of the abbey's tenement in the village; the abbot was not satisfied with the former exchanges of land and claimed in addition fifteen butts of land. Henry de Bray the grandson gives the following account of a compromise effected between his grandfather and the abbot in 1252.

'Henry for his own soul and for the souls of his ancestors and successors gave in pure alms a certain messuage with one and a half acres which lay close to the abbey's tenement; he also gave up one head of a ploughland, about which there had been disagreement.'

[1] Lans. f. 64*b*. [2] Cott. f. 7*a*. [3] Lans. f. 22*a*.
[4] Dugdale, *Origines Judic.*, p. 119; Neilson, *Trial by Combat*.
[5] Lans. ff. 55*a*. and 14*a*.

Moreover, Henry agreed that he and his heirs should make an aperture in the mound which he had built to enable the abbot's cattle to go to and from their pasture. The abbot promised to regard the question concerning fifteen butts of land as settled and never to revive it before any court. This settlement was apparently satisfactory. By the time of Henry the grandson, the mound had disappeared, and as the piece of land which contained it was soon afterwards exchanged with Henry Sebode, the source of dispute was removed and the 'Estate Book' contains no later record of further trouble with the abbot.

In another note respecting Church matters, Henry mentions that the *ceragium*, that is the wax due to the parish church from the vill of Harlestone, is threepence a virgate. For the twenty-seven virgates contained in the vill the sum total should be six shillings and ninepence, but Henry gives it as six shillings and tenpence.[1]

In Henry's own time it is not quite clear whether his estate was reputed as a manor: he does not himself use the term, though he speaks of holding a court for his tenants.[2] It is noticeable that a hundred years later, a descendant of his daughter and heiress Alice, who married John Dyve, is reported to have held a manor in Harlestone.[3]

Henry does mention a manor in Harlestone, one held by Roger de Lumley, together with eight and a half virgates.[4] The latter had large possessions elsewhere, and his position locally does not compare with Henry de Bray's as he was of much higher rank and having other manors probably kept a bailiff at Harlestone and did not live there for any length of time.

Henry gives a short account of his own life as follows.[5] He was born in 1269, his grandfather Henry de Bray died in 1280, his father John in 1282, his mother Maud surviving her husband. Henry married in 1284, at the age of fifteen,

[1] Lans. f. 84*a*.
[2] Cott. f. 9*b*.
[3] Anc. Deeds, IV. A 9178.
[4] Lans. f. 52*a*.
[5] Lans. f. 1*a*.

one Mabel, and his daughter Alice was born two years later. He makes no entry on the subject of his education, but he appears to have received some sort of legal training. He carefully refers back to the date of legal memory, namely the reign of Richard I and no farther; moreover, the two MSS. bear a likeness to a lawyer's commonplace book; also the mere fact of keeping a notebook to codify his relations with his overlords and tenants points to an education more elaborate than mere schooling.

It is supposed that in those days of early maturity boys went to the Universities between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, and the full Arts course lasted for seven years.[1] Therefore, though it is possible, it is unlikely that Henry would have completed any course of study at a University by the age of fifteen. A possible explanation of the source of his legal training lies in the fact that his maternal grandfather Richard was a man of learning. Henry says of him that he was called clerk because he was *literatus* and that he lived a hundred years.[2] Probably Richard had enjoyed all the advantages of a career at Northampton, that offshoot of Oxford and Cambridge whose brief life of thirty years was an episode in the middle of the thirteenth century. Henry's mother Maud was Richard's favourite among five daughters, so much so, that he made a special settlement of property upon her.[3] Her son Henry would therefore be the object of much attention and affection to his grandfather. It may safely be inferred that Henry was largely educated by contact with Richard, particularly because he displays a marked knowledge and interest in so many neighbours' ancestors which could only be gained by close contact with some one of a much older generation. Maud made a second marriage, with Adam le Werrour in 1285 or 1286.[4] The date seems of importance, as Henry states vehemently, almost bitterly, that a deed by which his mother

[1] Rashdall, *History of the Universities of the Middle Ages*.
[2] Lans. f. 44*a*.
[3] Lans. ff. 44 *a* and *b*.
[4] Lans. ff. 44*b*.–46*a*.

settled her property on her new husband was dated in the year 1285 when it was, in fact, executed in the following year. Henry gives no other reason for his annoyance, but probably the point at issue was, that, by the settlement made on her first marriage, Maud was in the position of a tenant of a conditional fee, which meant that she had full powers to alienate her estate and disappoint her heirs. In 1285 the act *De Donis* had been passed to prevent this, and if it applied, she could no longer dispose of her property as she chose, and a second settlement in favour of her second husband made in 1286 could not provide for him after her death and prevent the property from returning to her heirs. Maud may have antedated her deed of settlement in order to gain her end. However this may be, in the litigation on the subject after her death Henry was unsuccessful, and had not only to pay a hundred shillings but to put up with his stepfather's life interest in the property. After he died, Henry at last gained possession though he again paid a hundred shillings to the elder of his stepbrothers for the quit-claim of his rights.[1]

Further light is thrown on the relations between Henry and his mother by a document dated 1304. In this year Henry recovered half an acre of land from his aunts Isabella le Houghton and Agnes le Ken. His own mother made a bid for part of the half acre, and Henry loftily observes in his note of the transaction that, although his stepfather and his mother had no right in the half acre, he gave them half a mark for peace sake[2] (*pro bona pace habenda*).

On the whole, however, the more interesting part of this 'Estate Book' is that containing the accounts between the years 1289 and 1309. These are entered in chronological order, but for the present purpose they have been arranged under subject headings without regard to date. Henry came of age in 1290 and the year before built himself a hall and north chamber for 12*l.*, exclusive of stones or beams.[3] It may be noted here that Harlestone has a peculiar stone of its

[1] Lans. f. 47*a*. [2] Lans. f. 33*a*. [3] Cott. f. 5*b*.

own, and in Henry's time, as since, there was a quarry near at hand. Henry, ever skilful in economising trouble for himself, enfeoffed a serf on the following terms:

'This William de Peverel was my serf while he lived and because he laboured much in my service and was diligent and faithful, therefore I enfeoffed him of the aforesaid tenements and he owed all the stone of all buildings which I should make while he lived.'

This entry is dated 1300 with a note that the unfortunate William only survived three years of his onerous freedom.[1]

In 1291 Henry made a south chamber for 5*l.* 10*s.* exclusive of stones or beams, and he notes that all the beams for the said chambers and hall grew in his courtyard.[2] This completed the manor house, and Henry then seems to have built or rebuilt all his outhouses, as follows:

In 1292 forty-seven shillings and eightpence to the making of a wall along the road from the new grange up to the garden which is called Newyard.[3]

In 1294 twenty-three shillings for a gate.[4]

In 1295 eighteen shillings and fourpence for the pound-fold and the wall next the road against Saltwelle.[5]

In 1297 sixty-two shillings and fourpence to making a new herb garden, and also the walls round it and other walls.[6]

In 1298 fifty-six shillings to making a gate and a fowl house and a wall from the east to the cattle-house.[7]

In 1300 thirty shillings to making a tower in the bower yard.[8]

In 1301 fifteen pounds and twopence to making the new grange in all expenses.[9]

In 1302 thirteen shillings and eightpence to making a mound and a bakehouse in the court.[10]

In 1305 eight shillings to making the 'chafcote' against the gable of the new grange.

[1] Cott. f. 22*b*.
[2] Cott. f. 5*b*.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Cott. f. 6*a*.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*

Twenty-eight shillings to making a wall round the courtyard twenty perches long.

Six shillings and fourpence to whitewashing the grange and great hall.[1]

In 1303 thirty-three shillings to making a new kitchen.

Forty-six shillings and eightpence to making a dove-house at the corner of the herb garden.

Forty-one shillings to making a new fountain near the new kitchen.[2]

In 1304 four pounds and twelvepence to making a new granary.[3]

Twenty shillings to making a new sheepfold.[4]

In 1305 sixteen shillings to making a dove-house next the Newyard.[5]

Twenty shillings to ditching a gate, mending the walls.[6]

In 1307 forty-eight shillings to making a wall round the Newyard twenty-four perches long.[7]

Fifteen shillings to making a small house to hold the carts.[8]

In 1309 five shillings to making a short wall eight and a half perches long from the sheepfold to the Abbot's court.[9]

Henry also spent fifty-three shillings and fourpence in planting oaks[10] and seven shillings and fourpence in levelling his courtyard.[11]

In addition to the above manorial buildings Henry built several cottages. Thus there are entries for one costing twelve shillings, one costing eighteen shillings, a deserted cottage cost eleven shillings, making two cottages at three different times cost respectively thirty-two shillings and fourpence,[12] twenty shillings, and sixty shillings.[13]

[1] Cott. f. 6*b*.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Cott. f. 7*a*.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Cott. f. 6*b*.
[11] Cott. f. 5*b*.
[12] Cott. f. 6*a*.
[13] Cott. f. 6*b*.

Henry also took considerable pains with the local arrangements for water.

In 1293 forty-two shillings were spent in building ponds in the court below Bereweldik and in changing the water-course from his courtyard in the fee of Newbottle to his courtyard in the fee of Berkhamstead.[1]

In 1299 nine pounds six shillings and fourpence went to making a water mill in the 'whetecroft' where his ancestors in old times had a mill and to making a mill-pond.[2]

In 1300, the jubilee year, four pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence to mending the water-mill which was badly built in the previous year.[3]

There is still a mill at Harlestone and the aged miller there recalls that fifty years ago the thatched roof came to within two feet of the ground, and that when a fireplace was fitted in an upper room, the inner wall of the house was found to be six feet thick though only roughly built of stone casing filled with pebbles. It seems probable that this was Henry de Bray's work.

In 1303 twenty shillings were spent in making a water-course across Henry Sebode's court, through which the water ran to the mill.[4] The arrangements about this water-course are very precise. In the deed which records Henry's purchase of the strip of land twelve perches by four feet, it is stated that he was to have and to hold the strip freely and peacefully, with free entry of running water between the court of Henry Sebode and the tenements of the Abbey of St. James, and with free exit without impediment, injury or opposition from the said Henry Sebode and his wife Joan and their heirs, and the water-course was to be repaired and built up as often as was considered necessary by Henry de Bray and his heirs, but they were not to claim any pasture or nourishment in the said court, nor to have any right of way to the said water-course. Henry gave half a mark for this strip of land and the accompanying privileges.[5]

[1] Cott. f. 5*b*.
[2] Cott. f. 6*a*.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Cott. f. 6*b*.
[5] *Ibid.*

In 1303 forty-one shillings were spent in making a fountain near the new kitchen.[1]

In 1308 ten shillings to making a bridge below the mill.[2]

Henry notes in another place that the mill which cost him fifteen pounds seventeen shillings now renders two marks, and the pond two shillings, and the free toll and croft remain in his hands.[3]

It is worth noting that Henry mentions a vineyard several times.[4]

Amongst the miscellaneous expenses the following personal entries may be mentioned.

'In 1293 Robert de Bray my brother took a monk's habit at St. Andrew's, Northampton, and to my expenses over this business fifty-five shillings besides my mother's expenses.[5]

'In 1296 my sister Beatrice was married to Richard Bente on the feast of St. Dunstan, and the cost of the wedding was thirty-five shillings.'[6]

There are some notes on this marriage in other parts of the book which may be of interest. The settlement which Henry made on his sister is an instance of his business capacity. He grants to Beatrice and Richard Bente the messuage which he holds of the honour of Berkhamstead, and seven and a half acres of the same fee and two pennyworth of rent due from Robert the father of Richard Bente. The said Richard is to pay Henry eighteen pence per annum and to acquit him of the suit due at the court of the fee of Berkhamstead. Henry only held one virgate in this fee for which he paid a rent of eighteen pence, so that by this settlement he disposed of all his obligations to the lord of that fee and held the virgate rent-free minus only seven and a half acres.[7]

The terms of the settlement made by Robert Bente on the married pair suggest that all the parties concerned lived in rather a humble way. Robert gave up his capital messuage,

[1] Cott. f. 6*b*.
[2] Cott. f. 7*a*.
[3] Lans. f. 31*a*.
[4] Cott. f. 8*a*; Lans. ff. 3*a*, 37*b*, 47*b*.
[5] Cott. f. 5*b*.
[6] Cott. f. 6*a*.
[7] Lans. f. 23*b*; Cott. f. 20*a*.

all his moveable and immoveable goods to his son and daughter-in-law, reserving to himself only a *corrodium*, that is, food and lodging for life.[1] It may be that this arrangement was a common one at the time even for persons holding larger estates. It is noted in an undated document that a similar settlement was made by a Henry Dyve of a later generation.[2]

To return to the accounts, it is noticeable that Henry de Bray in mentioning the death of various relations and friends says 'for their souls let a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria be said,'[3] but he appears to set a high value on his own prayers, at any rate at this date, for he makes no note of giving money to priests or chantries to say prayers for the souls of the departed. He made no pious gifts until he was well on in years. In 1324 he gave four shillings' worth of annual rents to the Abbey of St. James, and his reason for so doing is oddly expressed. He evidently meant to provide for the souls of his ancestors in a wholesale way 'pro anniversario antecessorum meorum quolibet anno faciendo.'[4] At the same time he gave twenty-seven pennyworth of rents to the chantry of the Virgin at All Saints' Church, Northampton.[5]

Next year, in 1325, the church at Harlestone was rebuilt, and Henry de Bray found the stone and timber for the work, Roger de Lumley the iron and smith work, John Dyve the carpentry.[6] Henry also mentions that the chancel had been rebuilt in 1320 while Richard de Hette was parson of the church.[7] Parker, in his 'Churches of the Archdeaconry,' gives it as his opinion that the church tower had been completed before the end of the thirteenth century, and that Richard de Hette built the north aisle as well as the chancel. Still if Henry de Bray was responsible for the remainder of the stonework in the church, it was no small task. It

[1] Lans. f. 24*a*; Cott. f. 20*b*.
[2] Lans. f. 32*b*.
[3] Cott. ff. 6*b* and 7*a*.
[4] Lans. f. 61*a*.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Lans. f. 22*a*.
[7] *Ibid.*

appears from the Lincoln Episcopal Registers that indulgences were offered to persons taking part in the rebuilding of the church.[1] Though this fact may detract from our admiration of Henry's pious industry, it must be acknowledged that it is greatly to his credit that much of the original masonry remains after five centuries, and moreover that amongst other work for which he was responsible, the piscina and sedilia are specially noted for beauty of execution.

In looking for traces of Henry de Bray's buildings in the village of Harlestone it is encouraging to find that there are two dovecots still standing. One of them is in the neighbourhood of the Lumley manor site, the other is undoubtedly either Henry de Bray's own erection or a building on the old site. It is possible to determine the site of his manor by means of the stream and by topographical details found in a late Close Roll.[2] The old house has been altered and enlarged, but the ancient walls, which are from three to six feet thick, remain; also an inner roof and the original kitchen. The ground slopes away close to the house, so that there is need for levelling now as also in Henry's day, and at the bottom of the slope is a spring from which Henry doubtless conveyed the water to the kitchen when he speaks of making a new fountain near the kitchen.

There are also two ancient barns existing, which have good stonework suggestive of the thirteenth century, and it is only a few years ago that another very large barn was pulled down. At right angles to it was a bakehouse, also pulled down within living memory. There were some ponds below the house which were filled up comparatively lately, and a large lake has been made to the west which has changed the face of the ground considerably, but the stream which runs eastwards from it under the main road passes through a channel which may possibly represent Henry's original water-course. It is interesting to find a link which connects Henry de Bray's time with the present, in the middle of the five centuries which separate them. Sir Lewis Dyve,

[1] Linc. Epis. Reg. (Dalderby.) [2] Close R. 1652, pt. 46, n. 23.

a direct descendant of Henry de Bray's daughter, was a strong Royalist and his estate was confiscated by the Commonwealth in 1652. In the Close Roll recording the transaction, the buildings known as the manor of Harlestone are enumerated and their positions noted so carefully that they can be identified both with those described by Henry de Bray and with such ancient buildings as now exist.[1]

Finally, a further claim of Henry de Bray to be considered a benefactor of his own and future generations is found on the last folio of the Lansdowne MS. It is a recipe for the prevention and cure of the plague.[2]

As has been said above, the latest date mentioned in the 'Estate Book' is 1340, when Henry was seventy-one years of age.[3]

In 1348, at the time of the Black Death, he may have been alive; if so, he may well have recorded any list of simples that was available at the time. On the other hand, there was a famine pestilence in 1315 quite serious enough for him to have sought out preventive medicines. Creighton in his ' History of Epidemics ' refers to a fourteenth century essay as one of the earliest treatises on the plague.[4] This MS. contains prescriptions, but no list of herbal remedies such as Henry de Bray gives, and therefore it may be of interest to quote the recipe in full, as it is possibly one of the earliest known.

The writing is very much worn, but Mr. Wood of the British Museum has kindly deciphered the whole of the recipe with the exception of one or two words. A translation is attempted here as follows :

A draught mixed in due proportion with white wine is proved to be good for those in sound health to remove evil vapours from the body in addition to the following other medicines for curing the plague. H Reno (?), goldwort, which in English is rod, arnement and mouse-ear (i.e. forgetmenot), tormentilla, goldwort, nightshade, matfellon (i.e. knapweed) by themselves.

[1] Close R. 1652, pt. 46, n. 23.
[2] Lans. f. 88*a*.
[3] Lans. f. 63*a*.
[4] Sloane MS. 2276 f. 197.

When the disease grows on the man or woman, eggshells, dandelion mixed by themselves; to break the skin near the swelling which is bocke, pied de lion, which in English is crowsfoot, petewort (i.e. cowslip); to bring down the swelling, egg yolks, flour which is green (?) proportionately rubbed in with oil of linseed.

Then another (drug) which is called galbanum which is in the City of London with the apothecaries.

Bathes (?), alehoma (i.e. alum), lemke (i.e. speedwell), wall wort (i.e. eldertree), ground-ivy, red fennel, herb-robert, white willow, white plumtron, primrose and consolida minor, that is bone wort, which in English is daisy.

These are perhaps the points of general interest contained in Henry de Bray's 'Estate Book.' It has not been within the scope of this paper to enlarge on many subjects which might be of interest to students of the later feudal customs and of the social conditions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[1]

[1] The whole of the MSS. have been transcribed and collated by the author of the present paper, who hopes that it may be found possible to publish the same within the next few years.

THE COLLECTION OF SHIP-MONEY IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES I

By Miss M. D. GORDON (formerly of Girton College, Cambridge)

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THE subject of this paper is the financial aspect of ship-money; that is, it attempts to discuss the following questions. How much money was actually levied on the ship-money writs? How was that money spent? How was it assessed and collected? As a form of direct taxation how does ship-money compare with a subsidy? The materials on which it is based are mainly the Audit Office Declared Accounts, the assessments in the Council Register, and the letters of instructions sent with the King's writs by the council to the sheriffs. These letters were substantially the same from year to year, with considerable additions dealing with points which had arisen in the course of the collections.[1]

To consider first of all the ship-money Declared Accounts. They are interesting in several ways. In the first place, they differ from the usual type of Declared Account in that they were declared, not before the treasurer or chancellor and one of the barons of the Exchequer, but before the Privy Council. Ship-money was not a business which concerned the officials of the Treasury and Exchequer as such. It is conspicuously absent from the Pells Receipt Books, and also from the discussions of the commissioners of the Treasury in 1635, of which there are notes in the State Papers.[2] Ship-money was to depend upon 'His Majesty's

[1] One of the letters is printed in Rushworth, iii. 259, but is wrongly ascribed to the year 1635 instead of 1638.

[2] *S. P. Dom. Car. I.* cclxxxv. 7.

instructions and the orders of the Council Board.'[1] As the ordinary rules of the Exchequer for the receiving and issuing of money and for giving receipts by means of tallies were not followed, it was necessary for the council to make elaborate regulations for keeping the accounts and the discharge of sheriffs. This was done by an order of council of February 1, 1635. The money was to be paid to Sir William Russell, the treasurer of the navy, but was to be kept entirely apart from other naval funds. The clerks of the council were to keep a book of entries of all orders, warrants, letters, estimates, and instructions relating to the business. All the accounts were to be brought to the Council Board, where an auditor was to be appointed ' to cast them up and certifie the state thereof.' The accounts thus summarised by the auditor are now among the Pipe and Audit Office Declared Accounts, but there is no indication of them in the official list except the significant fact that the accounts of the treasurer of the navy from 1635 to 1640 are represented by two rolls instead of one.

These ship-money accounts show exactly how much of the sum assessed on each county was actually levied in each year. On the whole, the counties paying the greatest proportion of their assessments were Cornwall, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, Monmouth, Sussex, Anglesea, Glamorgan, and Radnor. Those in which the proportion uncollected was greatest were Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, and Northamptonshire. Nothing was collected from Cumberland and Westmorland in 1639 or in 1640. In 1639, also, Durham, Northumberland, and Montgomery paid nothing; and nothing was paid by Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Staffordshire, Yorkshire, and Brecknock in 1640.

Except in the first and last years in which the collection was made, the money due from London does not appear in the accounts, as the ships required were provided by the City.

[1] C. R., February 1, 1634/5.

Very full details of the expenditure of the money are given. With one exception, and allowance being made for the treasurer's fee, it was entirely spent on the ship-money fleets of each year.

In the first year, in which the writs were sent only to the maritime counties, considerably more was spent than was collected. The sum which ought to have been received by Sir William Russell was £80,609. Of this £1023 was never collected and the actual receipts were only £79,586. The amount spent on the fleet of that year, however, was over £88,000. Money was advanced out of the Exchequer to make up the deficit.

The next year, out of £199,700 which ought to have been paid by the sheriffs, £4836 was not collected. £23,323 was repaid to the Exchequer; £182,421 was spent on the fleet. At the end of this year the ship-money fund was in debt to Sir William Russell to the amount of over £10,000.

By the writs issued in 1636 for the fleet of 1637, there were several statements in the assessments which reduced the amount due to £196,400. The amount which could not be levied, on the other hand, had risen to £6907. £178,550 was spent on the fleet, and the deficit at the end of the year was £6393.

In 1637 the sum required of the counties for the fleet of 1638 was again £196,400, of which £17,738 remained uncollected. £152,875 was spent on the fleet, and for the first time there was a surplus, £18,022, to carry over to the next year.

By the writs of 1638 a very much smaller sum was required—£69,750, of which over a third was unpaid. £68,752 was spent on the fleet, and the balance of the year before was reduced to £5279.

The next year, the last in which the writs were issued, the sum required was £214,400. The assessment was exactly the same as that of 1636 and 1637, but the amount to be accounted for by Sir William Russell was greater by £14,000, because London instead of providing ships paid in

money. Of this only £43,417 was paid. For the first time a sum of money was taken from this fund for a purpose unconnected with the ship-money fleet. By order of the council £1555 was lent to the paymaster of Berwick for the garrison there. Although it was only a loan, in the general upheaval which followed, it was of course never repaid. The ship-money fund ceased to exist. A balance was left at the end of this last year's account of £172.

It must be remembered that the earliest of these accounts was not made up before 1639, and, in any given year, the amount in hand was very much less than the sum finally collected by the exertions of the council. This is clear from the lists of arrears at different times in the Council Register and among the State Papers. On October 15, 1636, Lord Cottington wrote to Sir William Russell asking him to advance £16,000 at interest for the payment of that year's fleet, 'because by reason of the present visitation'—the plague—'the moneys collected from all parts of this kingdom by virtue of His Majesty's writs are not so speedily paid as was expected, and that the moneys unpaid were destined for the mariners' wages . . .' In case the money had not been received at the end of six months, Russell was to be repaid out of the Exchequer.

The accounts show that ship-money was certainly spent on the fleets of each year, but, in so far as the amount spent on the navy during those years was diminished, the king's annual revenue was increased indirectly. To take Mr. Oppenheim's figures, which are from the navy accounts of the Pipe and Audit Office, the average amount spent on the navy in the six years from 1629 to 1634 was £57,166 13*s.* 4*d.*, and in the six years from 1635 to 1640, during which ship-money was paid, was £52,280, an average difference of less than £5000. Even this margin cannot be entirely ascribed to ship-money, as in the former years the debts incurred by the unfortunate naval expeditions of the early part of the reign were being paid off. Charles, therefore, was speaking the exact truth in at least a part of his statement about

ship-money made to the Short Parliament through the Lord Keeper:

'His Majesty has commanded me to declare thus much unto you. First, His Majesty never had it in his royal heart to make an annual revenue of it, nor ever had a thought to make the least benefit or profit of it; . . . He hath been so far from making the least benefit of it that he hath expended great summs of money out of his own coffers to work with to those necessary ends. The accompts of such money so received have been brought to the Council Table, the moneys delivered to Sir William Russell, the treasurer of the navy, and by them all it may appear whether there hath been a fulness and clearness of truth in the disbursements thereof for the good and safety of the nation.' [1]

On the more subtle question as to whether the king ever had it in his royal heart to make an annual revenue of it these accounts, of course, throw no light. It was generally thought, after the third issue of writs in 1636, that ship-money had become a permanent source of supply. Salvetti, writing in November 1636, says:

'The amount will be about 800,000 scudi, and what is more it is reduced to an annual charge. A great point for the king to be able to put to sea every year a fleet of from forty to fifty large vessels without touching a halfpenny of his revenue. A business of great consequence and reputation, but little to the taste of our neighbours' [2] [that is, of France and Holland].

To go on to the question of the way in which ship-money was assessed. This is fully explained in the letters from the council which were sent out with the King's writs in each year. Ship-money differed fundamentally from a subsidy in being, strictly speaking, a rate and not a tax. That is to say, a lump sum was required from each county, which had to be made up by the inhabitants. It was recognised that the system of direct taxation by means of subsidies bore little relation to the real resources of the country. It was difficult to secure the taxation of personal property. Since the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth the yield of a subsidy

[1] Rushworth, iii. 1138.

[2] Salvetti transcripts. Despatch of November 16, 1636.

had steadily decreased, while the wealth of the country had increased enormously. This was known to be due to inadequate and partial assessments. The writer of a pamphlet,[1] printed in 1641, discussing possible ways of raising money, speaks of 'the inequality and unconscionable disproportion of the rating of the subsidies. The poorer sort cannot pay the king, the greater sort as having the law in their own hand will pay but what they please, but the middle sort they must and shall pay, and in such disproportion as is insufferable.' At each grant of a subsidy it was usual for the council to write exhorting the commissioners to make fair assessments. 'The wealthier and best able to spare the same are too favourably dealt withall, the commissioners for the most part bearing one with another, and every one of them with his own friends, which fault it is looked for that yow will carefully redress and not slightly peruse as ordinarily yow do your former books and rates.'[2] This was in 1598, but the subsidy continued to decline and the council to send out its letters of exhortation. In 1628 the council wrote that by 'ill handling and remissness' a subsidy had become 'greater in name than in truth and more in sound than in substance.'[3]

These were the defects which the council hoped to remedy in the ship-money collections, by fixing beforehand the sum to be paid, by basing the assessments on local rates instead of the subsidy book, by throwing the whole responsibility for each county on the sheriffs, and by a strict supervision of the whole business.

It is impossible to look through the Council Register for the years from 1634 to 1640 without being struck by the very great amount of care taken by the council in adjusting the ship-money assessments. There can be little doubt that the council did their best to secure a fair and impartial rating. In 1634, when the writs were sent only to the maritime counties and before the system was

[1] 'Considerations touching trade with the advance of the King's revenues. . . .' B.M. E148 (1).

[2] Acts of the Privy Council, July 26, 1598. [3] C. R., June 30, 1628.

elaborated, the authorities of the towns were allowed to assess themselves, though they were ordered to confer with the sheriff, and all the officers concerned were exhorted to 'proceed with that expedicion, equallitie, and indifferencie which may give life to the service.' This vagueness gave rise to difficulties. In January 1635 the council wrote to the sheriff of Dorset that 'it was never intended that the magistrates of the townes should so underrate themselves as to cast a greater burthen upon the cuntrie then it was possible for them to beare.'[1] In the following years, when the writs were sent also to the inland counties, very full directions for the method of assessment were given, and besides the total sum rated upon the counties, the towns and boroughs were also rated by the council, 'to prevent difficulty in dividing the assessment.' Where the majority of the corporations and the sheriff should agree upon a different rating the council wrote that they were 'content to give way to your judgments who are upon the place . . . it being His Majesty's desire and the intencion of this Board that all things should be done with as much equality and justice as is possible for us or yow to discerne.'[2]

The sum left over from the towns was the share of the county at large. The sheriff was to subdivide it among the hundreds. The next step was a further subdivision among the parishes. For this the sheriffs were authorised to send warrants to the constables of the hundreds to summon discreet and sufficient men from each parish—usually the petty constables. Although the constables were to be made use of, it was clearly implied that the whole responsibility for the assessment rested with the sheriffs. This point was much insisted on in later letters from the council.

In the parishes the rating was to be by houses and lands, 'as is accustomed in other common payments which fall out to be payable by the County Hundrethes, lathes, divisions, parishes, and townes, saving that where there shall happen to be any men of ability by reason of gainefull trades, greate stockes of money,

[1] C. R., January 16, 1634/5. [2] C. R., August 12, 1635.

and other personall estate, who perchance have, or occupy, little or no land, and consequently, in an ordinary landscot, would pay nothing or very little, such men be rated according to their worth and ability; and that the moneyes which shall be levied upon such, may be applied not only to the sparing and freeing of such poor people as aforesaid, but also to the easing of such, as being either of weake estate or charged with many children or greate debtes are unable to beare so great a charge as y^e^ lands in an annuall and ordinarie payment, and the like course to be held by yow in the corporate townes that a poore man be not sett in respect of the annuall taxe of his house or the like at a greater summ than others of much more wealth and ability.'

It was natural that complaints should be made against the rating of so unpopular a tax, the sheriffs and local authorities were not always either disinterested or anxious for the success of the scheme. In the next year a clause was inserted in the letters ordering the sheriffs 'to have a more than ordinary care and regard whereby to prevent complaints of inequality in the assessments wherewith we were much troubled last year.'[1] In 1637, the third year of the general writs, the letters say:

'Whereas His Majesty takes notice that in former assessments, (notwithstanding the expresse order given in our letters to ease the Poore) there have been assessed towards the service not onely poore cottagers who have nothing to live on but their daily worke, but even such as receaved almes of the Parish wherein they dwell, which is not only a verie uncharitable act in itselfe and grievous to such people, but can admit no better construction than that it was done out of an adverse humour, of purpose to raise clamour and prejudice the service.'

The letters go on to order that no one in receipt of alms was to be assessed, and no cottager unless he had resources over and above his daily earnings.

The following is an instance of an unfair assessment by local authorities and of the attitude of the council towards it. In 1635 the council wrote to the mayor of Portsmouth as follows: 'Wee are informed that you have proceeded very unequally and lykewise very unfairly with the

[1] C. R., October 9, 1636. [2] C. R., October 2, 1637.

officers and soldiers of the garrison of that towne.' The number of soldiers to be assessed had been altered from twelve to thirty-four, and they had been rated 'as high as some of the townesmen who have double howses with store-houses and shipps at sea, not considering the povertie of most of the said soldiers, who have neither howses nor the meanes to subsist besides His Majesty's pay.' It was ordered that no soldiers dependent entirely on their pay were to be assessed.

It was not always easy for the local authorities to carry out the instructions of the council as to assessing moneyed men highly. The following certificate from the constables of the hundred of Houndsborough in Somerset is among the State Papers:

'Wee did assemble two able and discreet men out of every parishe . . . and at a meeting for that purpose wee did assesse and taxe Henry Hodges, Esq., at the some of £10 for his personall estate, which some is to be imploied for the benefit of such as are much indebted and surcharged with children, with which assessment soe made thirteen of the rators did assent, and only two out of his parishe for feare of his displeasure would not agree but would rate him only at £3 . . . He was reputed a great monied man and hath noe lands to our knowledge in this 100 and very little in the county.'[1]

Prynne's pamphlet, 'A Humble Remonstrance against the Tax of Ship-money,' written in the Tower in 1636, may be presumed to be a good exposition of the anti-royalist point of view. Although mainly concerned with constitutional and legal points, it makes certain definite financial statements which it is interesting to consider in the light of the information afforded by the ship-money accounts.

Firstly, 'the greatness and excessiveness of the tax,' the assessment, in the maritime counties only, in most towns was equal to 15 subsidies, and by the writs of 1635 was equal to 4 subsidies and more. As far as the latter year is

[1] *S. P. D.* ccccxxxviii. 104. Subsidy Roll, 172/40. [By the subsidy assessment of 1640, Hodges was rated at £10 in lands, that is, for one subsidy he paid £2.]

concerned, it is easy to test this comparison. The amount demanded, including London, was £217,500. The yield of a subsidy at this time was estimated at £70,000. As the clergy were assessed with the laity for ship-money, £20,000—the amount of a clerical subsidy—must be added to this, so that for purposes of comparison a subsidy was worth £90,000. The amount of ship-money demanded, therefore, was not more than 4 subsidies, but less than $2\frac{1}{3}$. As only the maritime parts of the counties and the coast towns were assessed in 1634, it is not so easy to arrive at a safe ground of comparison. However, as the rating in London was admitted to be exceptionally heavy, it cannot be unfair to Prynne to compare the ship-money rate with the amount paid by London towards a subsidy.

The sum demanded in 1634 was £35,118, and was reduced after representation from the City to £32,163. At the beginning of the century London paid £5840 towards a subsidy. Allowing that this had declined in the meantime to £5000, the ship-money rate in London would still be less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ subsidies. I think it may be safely concluded that Prynne's estimate of 15 subsidies was very considerably exaggerated. Prynne gives a list of the ship-money assessments for 1636 which is strikingly inaccurate.

The pamphlet describes at some length the inequality of the assessments :

'In cities and corporations the middle or poorer sort paid more than the richest, and in the country, where men are now rated by the acre, poor farmers pay more than the richest knights or gentlemen, yea many poor men that have not bread to put into their own or their children's mouths are forced to sell their pewter, bedding, sheep and stock to pay it.'

It is interesting to compare with this Davenant's judgment on the assessments :

'Ship-money was an arbitrary and illegal Tax, therefore it concerned the controllers of it to lay it as equally upon the nation as possible, for it would have been a double grievance to the people if it had been imposed both against law, and also with partiality. On the contrary, it imported the ministers of those

times to give their new invention all the fair colours imaginable, and to make that which was unjust in its nature at least just and equal in its manner, and no doubt in the rating of it they had duly weighed and consulted the strength and weakness, riches and poverty, trade and fertility and every circumstance of each particular county, with some regard also to the proportion it bore in the subsidies.'

It was obviously to the interest of the council that the assessments should be fair, in order—as they expressed it themselves in a letter to one of the sheriffs—'that the business may go on with cheerfulnesse and alacritie and not receive any rubbs by the overburthening of any.'

Another point brought forward by Prynne is 'the abuse of some sheriffs and officers in leavying farr more than is prescribed in the writ.' This was expressly forbidden in the writs, but cases certainly occurred. In the Harley MSS. there is a paper called 'Considerations touching the ship-moneys, 1636,' written with a strong bias in favour of the government, which agrees with Prynne on this point. According to the writer, 'sheriffs in some places for feare of falling short or for some other ends shoot over, and chardge an overplus more than the writts require, as may be instaunced in some, and is by the countreys suspected in most.' [1]

From the Council Register the policy of the Privy Council in dealing with these surpluses is clear. At first the council ordered the repayment of the money, or what came to the same thing, its defalcation from the next year's assessment. There was a surplus in Hampshire on the first year's levy owing to some uncertainty as to what maritime places were chargeable. This was ordered to be 'carefully and duly' repaid.[2]

In Gloucester also there was a surplus, which was to be allowed towards the next year's assessment,[3] but the attempt to carry out this order led to a dispute between the town and the county, and the bishop of Gloucester was ordered to investigate the controversy.

[1] Harley MSS. 3796. fo. 66. [2] C. R., March 22, 1635/6.
[3] C. R., October 28, 1635.

The clergy of the Isle of Wight petitioned for relief out of the surplus in Hampshire on the ground that they had been over-assessed.[1] The sheriff was ordered to examine the assessments in question, to give relief if he should find cause, and then to hand over the remainder of the surplus 'to the Justices of the Peace at their next sessions to be disposed of for such other publick service of the county as they shall think fit.' The repayment of the money had evidently been found to be unworkable, and in other cases the council consistently ordered that the surplus should be paid over at quarter sessions and disposed of at the discretion of the justices for other local charges. There are instances of this in Kent,[2] Derby,[3] Durham,[4] and Lincoln.[5] A small surplus was also collected in the parish of St. Giles in London and was ordered to be paid to the overseers of the poor.[6]

The next statement of Prynne's with which this paper is concerned is that the money was not all spent on the fleet, 'the moiety of the present money collected being not disbursed in the defence of the sea for which it is pretended.' This was written in 1636, and as we have seen, in October of that year Cottington had to borrow £16,000 towards the payment of the ship-money fleet owing to the slowness with which the money was paid in.

Leaving out of the question all Prynne's constitutional arguments, the most effective points in his criticism are the following: That if the counties had furnished their own ships at the best and cheapest rates, the expense would have been very much less. That they were forced to provide a completely new outfit each year for the fleet, and at the end of the service such things as cordage, anchors, and muskets were absorbed into the royal stores. That by the writs of 1635 they were compelled to furnish money for forty-seven ships, and only twenty-seven ships were actually fitted out. It is certainly true that, except in the first year, the number of ships specified in the writs was not provided. As the

[1] C. R., May 31, 1636.
[2] C. R., February 17, 1635/6.
[3] C. R., July 22, 1636.
[4] C. R., March 7, 1636/7.
[5] C. R., August 27, 1637.
[6] C. R., September 18, 1636.

ship-money was actually spent on the ship-money fleets, the probable explanation of this lies in the expensive and inefficient administration of the navy. This is illustrated by the fact that London provided the ships required by the first issue of writs both better and more cheaply than could have been done by the admiralty. To quote from the Council Register :[1]

'Whereas His Majesty and this Board have beene informed y^t^ the committees and sheriffs of London did y^e^ last year set forth and furnish their shippes . . . more sufficiently and with better provisions and equipage and much cheaper than any of His Majesty's shippes were provided, and that y^e^ lyke would be donne this yeare through y^e^ skill and good husbandrie of y^e^ present sheriffs and committees appoynted to take care of y^e^ busines. Forasmuch as it highly importeth His Majesty in poynt of honour and profitte to have y^e^ services of his Navy and shippes to be ordered and arranged with y^e^ most advantage for service and with least charge and expense, it was this day ordered—His Majesty sitting in councell—yat as well y^e^ last years as y^e^ present sheriffs of London, and y^e^ committees employed by y^e^ citty for setting forth and furnishing y^e^ city shippes the last and this yeare and alsoe y^e^ principall officers and commissioners of the Navy shall attend ye Board on Wednesday come seavennight.'

Both the civic and the naval authorities were to bring with them full particulars of provisions and prices, and it was hoped that the naval officials would profit by the lesson.

The evidence seems to show that the council did their best to administer honestly the proceeds of a questionable and unpopular tax. The accounts and the Council Register bring out very clearly how entirely ship-money was outside the sphere of the Exchequer and of ordinary financial administration. The question arises as to whether this was due to a desire clearly to establish the fact that the money was spent on the ship-money fleet, and was not drawn upon for the king's financial necessities—or whether it was an indication of a tendency towards an administrative despotism, dependent on the Privy Council. One motive of course does not necessarily exclude the other.

[1] C. R., February 14, 1635/6.

SHIP-MONEY.—AUDIT OFFICE DECLARED ACCOUNTS.

	1635.[1] (By writs of 1634.) [5]	1636. (By writs of 1635.) [5]	1637. (By writs of 1636.) [6]	1638. (By writs of 1637.) [7]	1639. (By writs of 1638.) [8]	1640. (By writs of 1639.) [9]
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Receipts or Charge:						
Balance from last account	—	—	—	—	18,022 5 10¼	5,279 3 10¼
Money due from sheriffs by writ	80,609 0 0	199,700 0 0	196,400 0 0	196,400 0 0	69,750 0 0	210,400 0 0
Money received from victualler of navy	3,282 3 2½	—	—	—	—	—
Price of stores returned	40 0 0	—	365 10 0	—	—	—
Price of stores sold, etc.	663 3 1½	1,286 0 6¾	—	—	794 16 4	943 13 4½
Received from Trinity Minories [2]	—	14 7 8	14 7 8	—	—	—
Total	84,594 6 4	201,000 8 2¾	196,779 17 8	196,400 0 0	88,567 2 2¼	216,622 17 2¾
Payments and allowances:						
Deficit from last account	—	5,300 16 9¾	16,183 6 10¼	6,393 15 1¾	—	—
Setting forth fleet	88,086 15 10¾	182,421 4 10¼	178,550 1 1½	152,875 4 0	68,752 13 3	47,403 18 3
Allowance to Sir W. Russell [3]	784 15 0	1,601 2 9	1,532 18 6	1,370 5 0	592 8 9	555 15 0
Repayment to Exchequer	—	23,323 18 4	—	—	—	1,555 0 0 [10]
Money due but not received	1,023 12 3	4,536 12 4	6,907 6 4	17,738 10 0	13,942 10 4	166,983 4 [11]
Total	89,895 3 1¾	217,183 15 1	203,173 12 9¾	178,377 14 1¾	83,287 12 4	216,497 18 2
Balance	—	—	—	18,022 5 10¼	5,279 9 10¼	172 19 0¾ [11]
Deficit	5,300 16 9¾	16,183 6 10¼	6,393 15 1¾	—	—	—

[1] The account for this year is not complete, as it is concerned only with the accounts of Sir William Russell, who was not appointed treasurer of the fund until March 24, 1635. Before this time money had been imprested to the victualler of the navy and spent on the fleet. This account can, however, be supplemented by a short statement in the Council Register for December 23, 1635, signed by Cottington, Coke, and Windebank, the substance of which is as follows:

The charge of the ship-money fleet of 1635, including the 10 additional ships which were ordered to re-enforce the 15 ships originally specified in the writs, £113,896 9s.; of this—advanced out of the Exchequer, £23,323 18s. 4d.; paid out of the money received from the counties upon the second issue of writs, £7,905.

[2] 'Money received of Sir John Heydon Lieutenant of the Ordnance collected within the precinct of the Trinity Minories by H.M.'s direccion towards setting forth of a shipp . . . of 500 touns.'

[3] 'Allowance of 3d. in the £ as poundage money on all moneys . . . issued, except such as he shall pay by warrant to the officers of the Ordnance and Surveyors of Marine victualls.'

[4] $\frac{1702}{70}$ Declared 1639.

[5] $\frac{1703}{78}$ Declared 15th Sep. 1639.

[6] $\frac{1703}{80}$ Declared 27th May 1640.

[7] $\frac{1702}{82}$ (Not declared). C. R.—30th September 1640. Mr. Geo. Bingley ordered to audit the ship-money accounts.

[8] $\frac{1704}{84}$ (Not declared).

[9] $\frac{1705}{86}$ (Not declared).

[10] Lent to paymaster of Berwick.

[11] Should be £124 19s. 0¾d.

SHIP-MONEY COLLECTIONS.

Assessments for the Council Register, Amounts uncollected from the Audit Office Declared Accounts.

A

	By writs of October 20, 1634.[1]		Uncollected.
Devon	11,236		
Dorset	2,204		
York. Northumberland. Durham	6,615	Surrey. Sussex. Middlesex. Suffolk. Kent	822 11 11
Southamptonshire. Kent. Sussex	6,735		
Middlesex. Surrey. Kent	4,621		
Yorke. Lincoln	6,615		
Suffolk. Essex	6,615		
Norfolk. Cambridge	6,735	Norfolk. Cambridge	24 8 0
Gloucester. Somerset	6,735	Gloucester. Somerset	176 13 4
Cornwall	2,204		
Pembroke. Glamorgan. Carmarthen. Monmouth. Cardigan. Denbigh. Carnarvon. Anglesea. Flint. Chester. Lancaster. Cumberland	2,204		
London	11,475	(for 2 ships lent by King)	
[Original assessment	35,118 0 0 = 7 ships		
Abated	2,955 0 0		
Allowed for ships furnished by the city	23,643 0 0]		

[1] Declared Account A. O. $\frac{1702}{70}$.

B

	Writs of 1635.	Uncollected.	Writs of 1636.	Uncollected.	Writs of 1637.	Uncollected.	Writs of 1638.	Uncollected.	Writs of 1639.	Uncollected.
Berks[1]	*£4000*		*4000*		*4000*	20	*1450*	420 0 0	*4000*	3871 0 0
Windsor	100		100		100		28		100	
Newbury	120		120		120		28		100	
Reading	260		260		220		35		220	
Abingdon	100		100		100		77		100	
Wallingford	20		20		20		8		20	
Wokingham	50		50		—		—		—	
Bucks	*£4500*	188 1 11	*4500*	1030 0 0	*4500*	852 6 0	*1650*	335 4 9	*4500*	4500 0 0
Buckingham	70		70		70		25		70	
Chipping Wycombe	70		50		50		18		50	
Aylesbury	80		—		—		—		—	
Bedford	*£3000*	70 2 9	*3000*	66 18 11	*3000*	252 14 5	*1100*	711 0 0	*3000*	3000 0 0
Bedford	120		140		120		45		120	
Bristol	*2000*		*1000*[3]	217 8 9	*800*	80 0 0	*250*	—	*800*	560 0 0
Cornwall	*6500*[2]		*5500*	—	*5500*		*1700*	63 0 0	*5500*	2700 0 0
Saltash	40		40		40		17		40	
Westloo (Portbihan)	13		13		13		5		13	
East Looe	30		30		30		12		30	
Truro	70		70		70		25		70	
Penryn	48		48		48		18		48	
Penzance	28		28		28		10		28	
Padstow	70		70		70		25		70	
Liskeard	40		40		40		17		40	
Lostwithiel	20		20		20		8		20	
Callington	20		20		20		8		20	
Tregony	34		33		33		13		33	
Grandport and Creed	29		29		29		11		29	
Launceston	80		80		80		30		80	
Helston	40		40		40		17		40	
Bossiney	36		36		36		14		36	
Bodmin	83		83		83		30		83	
St. Mawes	10		10		10		4		10	
Camelford	10		10		10		4		10	

Cambridge		£3500	74	10	11		3500	—		3500	140	0	0		1300	30	0	0		3500	2260	0	0
Wisbech	180					—			—					—					—			
Cambridge	100					100			100					36					100			
Cumberland and Westmoreland		£1000					1400			1400	C. 54	0	0		600	300				1400	700	0	0
											W. 240	0	0			300					700	0	0
Kirby Kendal	—					15			15					6					15			
Appleby	—					5			5					2					5			
Carlisle	20					20			20					8					20			
Chester		3500					3000			3000	20	0	0		1150	—				3000	1800		
Chester	300					260			260					95					260			
Devonshire		£9000					9000			9000	611	4	8		3150	75	1	5		9000	3901	8	0
Exeter	400					350			350					135					350			
Clifton Dartmouth	60					80			80					30					80			
Totnes	250					120			120					44					120			
Plympton	70					35			35					14					35			
Plymouth	100					190			190					70					190			
Tiverton	100					130			130					46					130			
Bideford	40					40			40					17					40			
Barnstaple	100					150			150					54					150			
Torrington	60					60			60					23					60			
Okehampton	20					30			30					12					30			
Bradninch	30					50			50					18					50			
South Molton	50					45			45					18					45			
Derbyshire		£3500					3500			3500	86	5	0		1300	260	0	0		3500	3000	0	0
Derby	120					175			175					63					175			
Chesterfield	50					50			50					18					50			
Dorset		£5000	152	7	9½		5000	312	1	9	5000	876	3	0	1750	350	0	0		5000	3250	0	0
Poole	60					30			30					12					30			
Dorchester	100					45			45					18					45			
Wareham	20					25			25					10					25			
Weymouth and Melcombe Regis	100					40			40					15					40			
Bridport	30					20			20					8					20			
Corfe	10					40			40					17					40			
Lyme Regis	70					40			40					17					40			
Shaftesbury	30					35			35					14					35			
Blandford Forum	60					25			25					10					25			
Durham, with the coal mines, and Gateside		£2000					2000			2000	430	0	0		700	700	0	0		2000	440	0	0
Durham and Framwellgate	100					150			150					54					150			
Essex		£8000	907	0	0		8000			8000	110	0	0		2750	35	4	0		8000	7668	19	7
Thaxted	40					40			40					17					40			
Walden	80					80			80					34					80			

[1] The spelling of the names of places has been modernised owing to the variation in the Council Register from year to year.
[2] Bristol abated to 1200 on petition (Declared Account).
[3] Bristol abated to 800 on petition (Declared Account).

B—*continued.*

	Writs of 1635.		Uncollected.	Writs of 1636.		Uncollected.	Writs of 1637.		Uncollected.	Writs of 1638.		Uncollected.	Writs of 1639.		Uncollected.
Essex—*continued.*															
Colchester	450			400			400			145			400		
Maldon	80			80			80			34			80		
Harwich	30			20			20			8			20		
Gloucester		*£5500*	£100		*5500*	250 0 0		*5500*	337 0 0		*2000*	320 0 0		*5500*	5400 0 0
Gloucester	500			500			500			180			500		
Tewkesbury	60			60			60			23			60		
Chipping Camden	20			20			20			8			20		
Hampshire		*6000*	£16 11 10		*6000*	32 6 8		*6000*	48 0 0		*1950*	39 13 4		*6000*	2280 0 0
Portsmouth	70			60			60			23			60		
Southampton	200			195			195			70			195		
Winchester [1]	200			190 [1]			170			54			150		
Andover	50			50			50			18			50		
Romsey	30			30			30			12			30		
Basingstoke	60			60			60			23			60		
Hereford		*4000*	£75 4 11		*3500*	67 13 0		*3500*	1069 13 6		*1200*	540 0 0		*3500*	2850 0 0
Hereford	250			220			220			80			220		
Leominster	100			44			44			18			44		
Hertford		*4000*	£16 15 10		*4000*	117 19 6		*4000*	441 16 7		*1500*	522 2 0		*4000*	4000 0 0
Hertford	70			55			55			20			55		
St. Albans	140			120			120			45			120		
Berkhampstead	30			25			25			10			25		
Huntingdon		*2000*			*2000*			*2000*	84 15 0		*750*	230 13 4		*2000*	1738 9 3
Huntingdon	50			50			40			17			40		
Godmanchester	80			80			74			26			74		
Kent and Cinque Ports in Kent		*8000*			*8000*	200 0 0		*8000*	747 7 6		*2750*	311 3 8		*8000*	5334 15 1
Canterbury [2]	500			300 [2]			300			100			280		
Dover	380			330			330			120			330		
Sandwich	300			250			250			90			250		
Hythe	40			40			40			17			40		
New Romney	130			180			180			65			180		
Oswalston and Tenterden	100			90			90			33			90		
Queenborough	20			10			10			4			10		
Maidstone	180			160			160			54			150		
Cranbrooke	160			200			—			—			—		
Gravesend, with Milton	40			40			40			13			35		
Rochester	150			80			80			25			70		

Lancaster		*3500*				*4000*				*4000*	120	15	6		*1600*				*4000*	1551	17	11
Preston	50				40				40					17				40			
Lancaster	30				30				30					12				30			
Liverpool	20				25				25					10				25			
Wigan	50				50				—					—				—			
Clitheroe	5				7	10	0		7	10	0			3				7	10		
Newton	5				7	10	0		7	10	0			3				7	10		
Leicestershire		*4500*				*4500*				*4500*	360	0	0		*1650*	78	0	0	*4500*	3330	0	0
Leicester	200				200				200					72				200			
Lincolnshire		*8000*				*8000*				*8000*	1622	5	1		*2900*	686	0	0	*8000*	6560	13	0
Lincoln and Liberties	400				193	6	8		193	6	8			71				193	6	8		
Boston	200				70	0	0		70					25				70			
Gt. Grimsby	30				15				15					6				15			
Stamford	70				60				60					23				60			
Grantham	80				200				200					72				200			
London		*1600*				*14000*				*14000*					*5000*	—			*14000*	13189	18	0
Middlesex		*5500*	346	19	6	*5000*	438	6	2	*5000*	843	18	11		*1800*	425	0	0	*5000*	3926	7	8
Westminster and Liberties	1300				1180				1000					350				1000			
Monmouth		*1500*				*1500*				*1500*					*650*	—			*1500*	700	0	0
Monmouth	31				40				40					17				40			
Newport	14				23	9	9		23	9	9			9				23			
Abergavenny	47				—				—					—				—			
Northampton		*6000*	308	5	0	*6000*	610	0	0	*6000*	1793	1	6		*2150*	838	13	3	*6000*	5967	13	8
Northampton	200				200				200					75				200			
Higham Ferrers	36				36				36					14				36			
Peterborough	120				120				120					45				120			
Daventry	50				50				50					18				50			
Brackley	50				50				50					18				50			
Nottingham		*3500*				*3500*	30	0	0	*3500*					*1250*	200	0	0	*3500*	2786	0	0
Nottingham	180				200				200					72				200			
Newark-upon-Trent	110				120				120					45				120			
E. Retford	30				30				30					12				30			
Northumberland		[5000 3]				*2100*	700	0	0	*2100*	900	0	0		*700*	700			*2100*	2100	0	0
Newcastle upon-Tyne	1100				700				700					250				700			
Berwick	30				20				20					8				20			
Morpeth	30				20				20					8				20			
Norfolk		*8000*				*7800*				*7800*	78	2	11		*2700*	78			*7800*	6141	2	9
Norwich	1100				500				500					150				400			
King's Lynn	300				300				200					72				200			
Gt. Yarmouth	220				220				220					80				220			
Thetford	30				30				30					12				30			
Castle Rising	10				10				10					4				10			

[1] In and after 1635, not including the close.

[2] In and after 1635, not on the church.

[3] Abated on petition to £3000—Declared Account.

B—*continued.*

	Writs of 1635.	Uncollected.	Writs of 1636.	Uncollected.	Writs of 1637.	Uncollected.	Writs of 1638.	Uncollected.	Writs of 1639.	Uncollected.
Oxford	£3500	500 0 0	3500	484 11 6	3500	553 1 0	1300	695 15 0	3500	£3282 3 2
Oxford	100		100		100		36		£100	
Burford	40		40		40		17		40	
Banbury	40		40		40		17		40	
Chipping Norton	30		30		30		12		30	
Henley upon Th.	60		60		60		23		60	
Woodstock	20		20		20		8		20	
Rutland	1000		800		800		350	—	800	800 0 0
Somerset	8000	956 2 1	8000	146 12 5	8000	270 8 6	2800	332 10 0	8000	7665 12 4
Bridgewater	70		70		70		25		70	
Minehead	60		60		60		—		—	
Bath	70		70		70		25		70	
Taunton	100		100		—		—		—	
Wells	60		60		60		23		60	
Axbridge	30		30		30		12		30	
Ivelchester	30		30		30		12		—	
Langport Eastover	20		20		—		—		—	
Yeovil	30		30		30		12		30	
Surrey	4000	349 12 0	3500	255 6 0	3500	233 16 5	1250	281 0 0	3500	2622 0 0
Guildford	60		53		53		20		53	
Southwark	600		350		350		125		350	
Kingston on Thames	80		88		88		34		88	
Sussex	5000		5000	31 15 0	5000	—	1800	—	5000	2804 12 0
Hastings(w.members)	410		250		250		90		250	
Chichester	200		150		77 7 8		30		77 7 8	
Arundel	30		20		20		8		18	
Shoreham	20		10		10		4		8	
Suffolk	8000		8000	34 18 2	8000	76 16 10	2800	370 0 0	8000	7225 0 0
Ipswich	450		240		240		90		240	
Orford	30		12		12		5		12	
Aldeburgh	30		8 16 0		8 16 0		3		8 16 0	
Dunwich	10		4		4		2		4 0 0	
Southwold	20		8		8		3		8 0 0	
Hadleigh	120		120		123 14 0		24		64 9 4	
Eye	30		30		30 12 3		12		30 12 3	
St. Edmondsbury	330		—		213 6 8		73		206 5 4	
Sudbury	50		—		66 3 4		25		66 3 4	
Stafford	2000		3000	300 0 0	3000	40 0 0	850	16 13 0	3000	3000 0 0
Lichfield	100		150		150		55		150	

Stafford	20				30				30				12				30					
Newcastle under Lyme	20				24				24				10				24					
Walsall	24				32				32				13				32					
Shropshire		4500	42	3	9		4500	59	17	6		4500	172	16	2		1650	108	8	7		4500	4386	17	0
Shrewsbury	500				456	10	0				376					135					376				
Bridgenorth	50				51	10	0				70					23					60				
Ludlow	100				102	0	0				102					38					102				
Bishopscastle	20				15	10	0				15	10	0			7					15	10	0		
Oswestry	80				51	0	0				45					15					37				
Wenlock [1]	30				302	0	0				302					108					300				
Warwick		4000	229	4	0½		4000	484	0	0		4000	780	0	0		1450	660	0	0		4000	3893	0	0
Warwick	150				100						—					—					—				
Coventry [2]	500				266						266					95					266				
Sutton Colefield	80				80						80					30					80				
Stratford on Avon	30				50						50					18					50				
Birmingham	160				100						—					—					—				
Worcester		4000					3500	191	16	0		3500	1018	0	0		1250	480	0	0		3500	2664	5	0
Worcester	360				233						233					80					233				
Evesham	130				74						74					26					74				
Bewdley	70				62						—					—					—				
Droitwich	70				62						62					23					62				
Kidderminster	—				27						27					12					27				
Wilts		7000					7000	693	15	0		7000	872	0	0		2200	1254	0	0		7000	6098	4	0
New Sarum	300				240						240					90					192				
Marlborough	100				100						100					25					60				
Devizes	50				50						50					18					50				
Chippenham	30				30						30					12					30				
Wilton	—				5						5					2					5				
Yorkshire		12000					12000	—				12000	1237	15	6		4250	510	0	0		12000	12000	0	0
York, with the Anstey	600				520						520					200					520				
Ripon	40				40						40					17					40				
Dorchester	80				100						100					40					100				
Pontefract	40				60						60					25					60				
Richmond	40				50						50					18					50				
Leeds	100				200						200					72					200				
Headon	20				20						20					8					20				
Beverley	80				57						57					22					57				
Scarborough	17				30						30					12					30				
Kingston on Hull	200				140						140					50					140				

[1] 'Wenlock and liberty' by writs of 1636 and afterwards.

[2] 'citie and countie' in writs of 1634.

B—*continued*

	Writs of 1635.	Uncollected.	Writs of 1636.	Uncollected.	Writs of 1637.	Uncollected.	Writs of 1638.	Uncollected.	Writs of 1639.	Uncollected.
North Wales (Counties)—	*4000*		*4000*		*4000*		*1500*		*4000*	
Anglesea	£448		448		448		168		448	11 4 0
Carnarvon	447 [1]		447 [1]		575		216	£5 0 0	575	275 0 0
Denbigh	1117 [2]		1117 [2]	£29 0 0	1122	£67 16 0	424	25 0 0	1122	402 0 0
Flint	738 4 8		738 4 8		575	25 0 0	216	—	575	275 0 0
Montgomery	833 6 0		833 6 0		864	64 0 0	322	322 0 0	864	564 0 0
Merioneth	416 0 0		416 0 0		416		154	—	416	10 8 0
South Wales (Counties)—	*5000*		*5000*		*5000*		*1900*		*5000*	
Brecknock	933		933	33 0 0	933	54 0 0	361	20	933	933 0 0
Cardigan	654		654		654		248	12 8 0	654	654 0 0
Carmarthen	760	£160 0 0	760		790		301	300 0 0	790	690 0 0
Glamorgan	1449		1449		1449		547		1449	94 14 6
Radnor	490 10 0		490 10		490 10	0 10 0	183		490 10	190 10 0
Pembroke	713 6 8 [3]	43 10 0	712 6 8 [3]	90 0 0	683 10	—	260		683 10	233 10 0

[1] Corrected to £447 2 8 in the A. O. Declared Account.
[2] Corrected to £1117 6 8 in the A. O. Declared Account.
[3] Corrected to £713 10 0 in the A. O. Declared Account.

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL, SESSION 1908–1909.

THE Council of the Royal Historical Society present the subjoined Annual Report to the General Meeting of the Fellows.

At the beginning of the Session, 1908–1909, the occurrence of the bicentenary of the birth of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, seemed to call for special recognition. It was accordingly arranged that the November meeting of the Society should be held in Clifford's Inn Hall, and be devoted to a review of the life and services to Great Britain and the Empire of the great statesman. There was a large attendance. After an introductory speech by Dr. Hunt from the chair, Mr. Frederic Harrison delivered an address, and Mr. Julian Corbett also spoke. By the courtesy of the officials of the Public Record Office and of the British Museum, exhibitions of letters, manuscripts and other objects connected with Pitt were arranged.

At the ordinary meetings, in the Society's Library, the following Papers were read :—

'The Ballad History of the Reigns of the Later Tudors.' By Professor C. H. Firth, LL.D. (*Vice-President*).

'Sir Otho de Grandison.' By C. L. Kingsford, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

'The Causes of the War of Jenkin's Ear.' By H. W. V. Temperley, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

'English Traders and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.' By Miss Leonora de Alberti and Miss A. B. Wallis Chapman, D.Sc.

'The Origin of the Regium Donum.' By the Rev. Clement E. Pike, F.R.Hist.S.

The President, the Rev. W. Hunt, M.A. D.Litt., delivered an Address on February 18, 1909.

These Papers have been printed in *Transactions*, Third Series, Vol. III.

The Alexander Medal for the year was awarded to Miss Nellie Neild for an Essay on 'The Social and Economic Condition of the Unfree Classes in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.' The Essay was read at the June Meeting.

It was announced that the Alexander Medal for the year 1909 would be awarded for an essay upon any subject of European or Colonial History which might be selected by a competitor, provided that the subject of the essay was previously submitted to and approved by the Literary Director.

In addition to the above volume of *Transactions*, the following volumes of *Publications* have been issued to Fellows and Subscribing Libraries since the date of the last Report :—

Camden, Third Series, Vol. XVI. 'Despatches from Paris, 1784–1789.' Vol. I. Selected and edited from the Foreign Office Correspondence by Oscar Browning, M.A., V.P.R.Hist.S.

Camden Third Series, Vol. XVII. 'The Bardon Papers,' relating to the Proceedings against Mary Queen of Scots in 1586. Edited by Conyers Read, Ph.D. (Harvard).

These will be followed by the first volume of 'John of Gaunt's Register,' edited from the Duchy of Lancaster Records, by Mr. S. Armitage-Smith, and the second volume of Mr. Browning's edition of the 'Despatches from Paris, 1784–1789.'

The future publications of the Society already arranged for include the second volume of the 'Register of John of Gaunt,' preserved in the Record Office ; the newly discovered manuscripts of Carpini's 'History of the Mongols' and of the 'Narrative of the French Conquest of the Canaries, 1404–6' ; 'Secret Service under George III.' ; 'Documents from the Archives of the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries' ; 'The Novgorod Chronicle' (translated from the Russian text) ; 'London Chronicle' (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries) ; 'The Essex Papers (1675–77), a continuation of Camden N.S. 47' ; 'The Journal of the Lieutenant of the Tower of London' (1722–1746) ; and 'Camden Miscellany,' Vol. XII.

By holding the Council Meetings rather earlier than had been the practice, it has been found possible for the Members of the Council to meet the Fellows more easily before the reading of Papers. The Council is anxious that Readers of Papers should if possible condense their matter so as not to occupy more than forty minutes in delivery. This would leave time for comment and discussion. The Fellows are also reminded that the Library is open during five afternoons of each week during the Session,

and that historical periodicals, such as the 'English Historical Review,' are always on the table. The growth of the Library has been already set forth in a Report by the Library Committee. The Historical Bibliographies promised last year have been procured, also the Report of the Library Committees, certain Historical Atlases and many other books. Thanks have been conveyed to the generous donors. Among the Works of Reference still lacking are Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' Dugdale's 'Baronage,' and the 'Complete Peerage.' Vol. LXXXVII. of the Camden Volumes, Old Series (Camden Miscellany, Vol V.), is still wanting. It is out of print, but some one among the Fellows may possibly be able to procure it.

The work of the Historical Association still continues to be directed from the Society's rooms. It is useful in itself, and forms a valuable adjunct to the work of the Society.

By death the Society has lost recently the Earl of Derby, Dr. Hornby, Provost of Eton, and the great American scholar, Dr. Gross, a grievous loss to English and American historical science. Archbishop Maclagan, who held office for many years, has retired from the Honorary Vice-Presidency.

Though the number of new Fellows keeps pace with the inevitable losses, the Council would be glad if Fellows would exert themselves to secure Historical Students and Scholars as candidates for election. It is only by an increase of members, and so of income, that the Society can hope to perfect the Library and, possibly, to extend its operations.

The Rev. J. Silvester Davies, F.S.A., for many years a Member of Council, but who resigned from ill-health in 1908, died early in 1909, deeply regretted by the Society.

The Advanced Historical Teaching Fund, which owed its inception to the Society, is still pleading for funds, without which its work, unique in London, cannot be carried on. Subscriptions, which are urgently needed, may be sent to Mr. H. R. Tedder, the Athenæum, Pall-Mall.

At the Annual Meeting in February Dr. Hunt resigned the Presidency, held by him for four years to the great advantage of the Society, which owes much to his constant care and interest. He kindly consented to carry on his work as an acting Vice-President, following the example of his predecessor, Dr. Prothero. While it is hardly fair to expect a busy man to bear the burden of the Presidency longer than the official term of four years, the Council gratefully acknowledge the advantage

derived from the retention of the services of experienced members.

In succession to Dr. Hunt, the Venerable Archdeacon Cunningham, D.D., LL.D., was elected President.

In accordance with By-law XVII. the following Vice-Presidents retired in rotation: Mr. G. W. Prothero, Litt.D., LL.D., and Mr. H. E. Malden, M.A., and were re-elected.

The following Members of the Council retired also under By-law XVII. :—

Professor C. R. Beazley, M.A., F.R.G.S.
Mr. W. H. Stevenson, M.A.;
Dr. Sidney Lee;
Mr. Stanley Leathes, M.A.,

and were re-elected, with the exception of Mr. W. H. Stevenson, who resigned; Mr. C. L. Kingsford, M.A., F.S.A. and Mr. R. A. Roberts, Secretary of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, were also elected members of Council.

The Librarian reports that 197 books and pamphlets have been added to the Library. Of the additions 53 were acquired by purchase and 144 by exchange and presentation. During the year ended October 31, 1909, 45 volumes were rebound.

The Treasurer reports that the total membership of the Society on October 31, 1909, including Honorary, Corresponding, Life, and Ordinary Fellows was 514. Of the above 19 are Honorary Fellows, 13 Corresponding Members, 93 Life Fellows, 38 Ordinary Fellows paying £1 1*s.* under the old regulations, 312 Ordinary Fellows paying £2 2*s.* under the new regulations, 39 former Members of the old Camden Society paying £1.

There are also 199 Subscribing Libraries, paying £1. There are 57 British and Foreign Societies which exchange *Transactions* with this Society.

The Treasurer is pleased to be able to report that the financial position of the Society continues satisfactory. There is now no floating debt chargeable on the income, and a certain amount has been paid out of current receipts to cover part of the expense of the publications yet to be issued. This causes the balance of income over expenditure for the year to be proportionally less than it was last year, and also increases the amount paid for publications during the year. The cash balance at the bank on October 31 was, however, nearly double the amount of the previous year.

The Society has increased its investments by the purchase of £200 India $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock. The Treasurer is glad to report that the number of Fellows in arrear with their subscriptions grows less year by year. One item deserves special mention, and that is for fresh book-cases (£25), which have had to be provided to meet the growing requirements for books.

The Auditors report that they have examined the Statement of Income and Expenditure together with the Balance Sheet appended to this Report, and have certified the same to be correct, from their inspection of the books and vouchers.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I.—Income and Expenditure Account relating to the Year Ending October 31, 1909.

Income.			£ s. d.
Subscriptions of 1907: 1 at 20*s.*	£1 0 0		
,, ,, 2 at 42*s.*	4 4 0		
		5 4 0	
,, 1908: 6 at 20*s.*	6 0 0		
,, ,, 20 at 42*s.*	42 0 0		
		48 0 0	
		53 4 0	
Less amount estimated to be received in last year's accounts for subscriptions in arrear		16 0 0	
Subscriptions in arrear, received in excess of estimate			37 4 0
Subscriptions now in arrear estimated to be received			16 0 0
Subscriptions of 1909: 216 at 20*s.*		216 0 0	
,, ,, 48 at 21*s.*		50 8 0	
,, ,, 295 at 42*s.*		619 10 0	
			885 18 0
Life subscriptions: 2 at £21		42 0 0	
Less proportion required by By-Law IX. to be invested (see Balance-sheet)		28 0 0	
			14 0 0
Dividends on Russian 4% Bond (Alexander Trust)			3 14 9
,, Consols			20 1 10
,, India 3½% Stock			4 19 3
Interest on Deposit Account at Bank			3 17 0
Miscellaneous Receipts			0 8 0
			£986 2 10

Expenditure.			£ s. d.
Publications: Printing and Distributing	£354 17 0		
Editing and Indexing	24 2 0		
	378 19 0		
Less received from Sales	10 3 2		
		368 15 10	
Salaries of Director and Assistant Secretary and travelling expenses of Hon. Secretary			224 5 0
Rent of Offices			90 0 0
Coal			2 5 0
Electric Light			2 16 3
Rates			32 16 0
General Printing and Stationery			73 3 11
Library: Books, Periodicals, and Binding			58 0 2
Postages, &c.			17 11 5
Sundries (Petty Cash payments, including Bookcases, £25)			51 0 0
Advertising			3 15 0
Insurance			3 18 0
Monthly Meetings (including Chatham Celebration)			12 3 1
Alexander Medal			3 3 0
			943 12 8
Balance being excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ending October 31, 1909, carried to Balance-sheet			42 10 2
			£986 2 10

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

II.—Balance-sheet of Liabilities and Assets at October 31, 1909.

Liabilities.				*Assets.*			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Life Subscriptions required to be invested as Capital Account (By-Law IX.): amount brought forward from last Balance-sheet £1,038 0 0				Consols 2½% £849 9*s.* 9*d.* at cost	855	5	3
Proportion of Life Subscriptions received in 1909 (see Income and Expenditure Account) 28 0 0				India 3½% Stock £200 at cost	197	11	0
	1,066	0	0	Russian 4% Bond	98	17	6
[Represented by Consols, India 3½% Stock, and Cash on Deposit see *contra*]				Cash at Bank: Current a/c . . . £165 1 9			
Alexander Trust Fund [Russia 4% Bond see *contra*] .	98	17	6	Deposit Account at Bank . . . 294 11 10			
Subscriptions received in advance	23	16	0	Petty Cash Balance in hand . . . 5 2 11			
Balance, being surplus of Assets over Liabilities at date .	2,503	16	9		464	16	6
Viz.—Amount brought forward from last year £2,461 6 7				Stock of Publications in hand, estimated value . .	160	0	0
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure as shown by Income and Expenditure Account . . 42 10 2				,, ,, with Messrs. Spottiswoode (value as insured)	500	0	0
£2,503 16 9				Library (value as insured)	1,000	0	0
				,, Manuscripts (value as insured)	100	0	0
				Furniture, &c. ,, ,, ...	300	0	0
				Subscriptions in arrear estimated to be received (see Income and Expenditure Account)	16	0	0
	£3,692	10	3		£3,692	10	3

(*Signed*) Henry R. Tedder, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Auditors' Report.

The above Statement of Income and Expenditure and Balance-sheet have been prepared from the Books and Vouchers, and we hereby certify the same to be correct.

(*Signed*) William J. Corbett.
J. Foster Palmer.
T. Cato Worsfold.
} *Auditors.*

January 12, 1910.

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The New Hampshire State Library, Concord, U.S.A.
The Connecticut Historical Society, Hertford, Conn.
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
Texas State Historical Society, Austin, Texas.
Illinois Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois.
Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine.

The Council are not responsible for the accuracy of the foregoing list, but they request that any inaccuracy or omission may be pointed out to the Secretary, and that all changes of address may be notified to him, so that delay in forwarding communications and the Publications of the Society may be avoided.

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